DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 408 UD 029 105

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TITLE Civil Rights Movement and the 1990s: Racism and the African-American Population.
INSTITUTION Saint Cloud State Univ., MN. Dept. of Human Relations.
PUB DATE 92
NOTE 78p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black History; *Civil Rights; Course Content; *Curriculum Development; Evaluation Methods; Grade 10; High Schools; *High School Students; Human Relations; *Racial Discrimination; Racial Relations; Secondary School Curriculum; Social Problems; Social Studies; United States History; Urban Areas
IDENTIFIERS *African Americans; *Social Movements

ABSTRACT

A plan is presented for a curriculum that shows how African Americans have been left out of decision making, stereotyped negatively, and denied resources. The project is intended to be a base for future studies of human relations issues in order to understand how society operates. Using the contexts of the 1960s and the 1990s, the power structures of American society are clarified. The curriculum is designed for a high school social studies classroom, typically a 10th grade studying U.S. history. Topics for the 9 days of study are: (1) racism; (2) institutional racism (2 days); (3) discrimination; (4) African Americans; (5) continued oppression and prejudice today (2 days); (6) color consciousness and discrimination; and (7) dealing with racism. Eighteen attachments, including overheads, a questionnaire, a test, and handouts, are included. (SLD)

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE 1990s:

RACISM AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION

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1992
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Rationale for Project

It seems in the past that high school students have not been exposed to the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and the African-American views on society. This may be due to the emphasis on early U.S. history and, thus, running out of time in the school year for more current events. The hope of this project is to introduce to the student the social, economic, and political climate during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and then examine how things have changed, or the lack of change, in today's society. In examining these issues of history, it is a way of providing examples and a forum for emphasizing human relation issues of oppression and racism. This also can show how an institutional power functions. The curriculum will give evidence on how African-Americans have been left out of decision making, negatively stereotyped, and denied resources. These human relation issues are important because students have to deal with the system of oppression everyday. This project is designed to be a base project for future studies of human relations issues in order to understand how society operates.

In designing the project, I could have chosen many time periods as a focus to the study. For example, the Civil War and reconstruction period could be used to show a system that continues to oppress a population. The project also could have focused just on today by bringing issues up and corresponding them to systems of society that discriminate and hold down a population. There are three reasons for use of both the 1960s and 1990s in this curriculum project. First, the students need to understand the system of oppression that takes place in this society. With racial tension high in the country at the present time, understanding human relations concepts, and specifically understanding about racism, is important. It is equally important to instruct the students on how to deal with the issues involved with racism. The project attempts to do this. Second, I believe that students need to have information presented in different ways. In this project, human relations issues are presented in context of the 1960s and 1990s. As stated above, the students have a lack of understanding about the events of the 1960s. Many students I have talked with show great interest in this time period. By first using the 1960s as a setting for explaining human relations issues, I hope to tap into their interest. Also, many of the issues are clearly identified in the Civil Rights Movement. Another need of the students is to be presented current information. This tends not to be done in the classroom. The importance and interest in history for the students probably emphasizes current decades and then proceeds back in history, but history is logically presented from the past to the present. Finally, the designer of this project has an interest in trying to explain the power structure in society and explaining both the Civil Rights Movement and current issues. In my schooling, all of these issues were not presented until I went to college. These issues need to be presented earlier in order for the student and the instructor to understand them. The teacher learner process has the ability to expand both parties knowledge about the human relations concepts. The project has evolved and continues to expand. Realistically, in the classroom the human relation issues would be presented at the beginning of the year. When talking about Columbus or slavery, it is important to understand the power structure. This project may be incorporated anytime in the school year or around Martin Luther King Day in order to give it more perspective. In other words, it can be adapted to incorporate different issues or different time periods, but it can be expanded to deal with more

racial issues. This could be a base for future information about different racial groups: Asian-Americans, Chicana/Chicanos, or different-isms including ableism, ageism, classism, heterosexism, and sexism.

A final note, the project is designed for a high school social classroom (U.S. history 10th grade level) in a mostly white suburb with about 30 students (like St. Cloud). This project could also be used if there are African-American students or other people of color in the classroom because they also have to understand the human relation issues and the history involved.

Day One

TITLE: Introduction to Human Relations Issues.

THEME: Racism.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Racism is the systematic oppression and exploitation of human beings on the basis of their belonging to a particular racial group (Andrzejewski 6).

2. Racism is part of America's culture and its institutions, and can be intentional and unintentional.

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Begin to understand the human relations issue of racism.

2. Be introduced to some other concepts including: discrimination, ideology, oppression, and prejudice.

3. Start to understand the power relationship between oppression, prejudice, and racism.

4. Identify the historical presence of racism in our society, which includes being left out in decision making and unequal access to resources.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time involves one day.

2. This activity and others to follow are for a 10th grade social studies class of 30 students.

3. The module is to be used with other lesson days as an introduction and base for the whole curriculum project dealing with the human relations concept of racism and African-Americans.

4. Materials will consist of:

   A. A paper called "A Group Oppressed" (Attachment 1).

   B. Questionnaire dealing with students perceptions of race (Attachment 2).

   C. Human Relations Term Sheet (Attachment 3).

D. Instructors information for vocabulary--Andrzejewski; history--Nash and Norman.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES

1. Place desks in a circle or some other arrangement to create a good atmosphere for discussion.

2. Provide the class with "A Group Oppressed" (Attachment 1). The short essay describes briefly the history of African-American oppression in North America. The students have had U.S. History probably up to or through World War II, so these events are not new, but presented in a different view.

3. The class will then read the essay and use it as a base for human relations issues.

4. The students then will receive a worksheet simply called "Questionnaire" (Attachment 2). The worksheet is an attempt to show how their perceptions, stereotypes, and institutions contain racism. This will be used to help understand future human relations issues that will be covered in class.

5. When the class has completed the Questionnaire, the instructor will ask for volunteers to present their answers to the questions. These answers will be placed on the board as a general indication of how the class views racism.

6. A second worksheet called "Human Relations Term Sheet" (Attachment 3) will be handed out. This will enable the teacher to use the class answers from the Questionnaire and also the reading A Group Oppressed to explain certain human relations terms. Each of these three attachments are continually used throughout the curriculum project. How the process evolves is, a term is presented verbally and also is written on the board. Then, the concept is related to Attachments 1 and 2 and other examples presented by the instructor. The students are encouraged to add information in an attempt for an active educational process.

7. The terms that should be covered in this session include racism, discrimination, prejudice, and oppression. If time does not allow for these to be presented, they can be covered on another day. This is the base for the future activities.

8. Finally, the students will be asked to read the Civil Rights Movement pages in their history textbook overnight.

EVALUATION:

As a result of this exercise, the students should have an introduction to human relations concepts of discrimination, ideology, oppression, and prejudice. The grading of the day's exercise is basically based on class participation.

Days Two and Three

TITLE: History of Oppression and the Civil Rights Movement 1960s.

THEME: Institutional Racism.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Institutional racism involves when a colonial system is established those in a superior position seek to monopolize basic resources (Andrzejewski 5-6).

2. History of the U.S. involves the process of institutional racism and privilege that has become both socialized and institutionalized in the everyday life of the people.

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Understand the human relations concept of institutional racism.

2. Identify the historical presents of racism in our society.

3. Know basic events and people involved with the Civil Rights Movement.

4. Begin to understand the relationship between the Civil Rights Movement, discrimination, and oppression.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instructional time is two days.

2. Activities involving the Civil Rights Movement is continued for three additional days.

3. Materials will consist of:

   A. Continued use of Human Relations Term Sheet.

   B. Students textbook readings on Civil Rights Movement, or, if possible, parts of Howard Zinn's A Peoples History of the United States (Chapter 17, 442-455) (Attachment 6).

   C. A handout entitled "Total Nation's Involvement in the Civil Rights Movement" with directions and a political map (Attachments 4 and 5).

   D. "Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement Report Format" (from Ed266 218 Pg. 46) (Attachment 7).

E. Time line called "The Struggle for Equal Rights" (Attachment 8).

F. Instructors information for vocabulary--Andrzejewski; history--Zinn, political--Patterson, and social--Eitzen.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. The first part of class the instructor will investigate what the students remember about the concepts of racism, discrimination, prejudice, and oppression. If reinforcement of meaning is necessary, time will be taken to explain.

2. Building on the first day, the concept of institution and institutional racism will be presented to the class. The instructor will use A Group Oppressed, Questionnaire, and other examples to reinforce the meaning. Student input is a necessary feature. The instructor should present to the class the four basic terms of institutional discrimination. First, the importance of history in determining present conditions. Second, discrimination can occur without conscious bigotry. Third, institutional discrimination is more invisible than individual discrimination. Finally, institutional discrimination is reinforced because institutions are interrelated (Eitzen 280-1).

3. The students will then pair up in groups of five. A handout will be passed out called "Total Nation's Involvement in the Civil Rights Movement" (Attachment 4) which will explain an activity involving major events of the Civil Rights Movement. A map (Attachment 5) is attached to plot where major events occurred. With the handouts, an introduction to the Civil Rights Movement occurs by using either the students textbook or, if possible, Chapter 17 "Or Does it Explode?" from A People's History of the United States, by Howard Zinn (p. 442-455) (Attachment 6).

4. The students are asked to go through the reading finding events that correspond to a date provided on the worksheet, plot on the map where the event occurred, then write the event, what it is about, major groups/people involved, and the result of the event. The answers are expected to be brief, and the students should work together to find the answers. The project will show institutional racism, discrimination, and efforts to bring down oppression. The activity will be completed on the next day.

5. With ten minutes remaining of class time, hand out "Leaders of Civil Rights Movement Report Format" (Attachment 7). This will give directions for an activity to occur on Day Five (should give the time over a weekend)..

6. Explain the assignment to the class. In each group, assign one person to research Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Rosa Parks, Philip Randolph, and Andrew Young. Encourage the students to investigate the contributions of each individual. Ask the students to use the Report Format in preparing their summaries. State they will need at least three sources, and the project is a five minute informal presentation to their individual groups. The Report Form will be turned in to determine if the activity was successfully completed (ED 266 218 p. 46) (Attachment 7).

7. End of Day Two.

8. Beginning of Day Three.

9. Continue with The Total Nations Involvement in the Civil Rights Movement activity until all groups are completed, or 15 minutes.

10. Conduct a group discussion on the activity and bring events into the context of the human relations issues of discrimination, oppression, institutional racism, and prejudice.

11. Hand out "The Struggle for Equal Rights" (Nash 921) (Attachment 8). This reprint from the text The American People reinforces the events and effects from the earlier Civil Rights Movement activity in a brief and easy to understand language.

12. During the discussion, put on the board or overhead The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 and Voting Act of 1965. Work these government bills into the context of the protests. Explain the relationship between the systems discrimination, the protest, and the government bills. Note that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 bars discrimination in the hiring, promotion, and wages of employees of medium and large firms (Patterson 143). The Civil Rights Bill of 1968 prohibits discrimination in housing (164). Finally, the Fifteenth Amendment gave African-Americans the right to vote, but institutional devices kept them from voting. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 forbids discrimination in voting and registration (144-5).

13. By the end of class, the students should have a better understanding of the African-Americans struggle against oppression in the 1960s. This concept will be strengthened by a video on the next class day.

EVALUATION:

In days two and three human relations concepts have been reinforced with a special emphasis on institutional racism. The main evaluation comes from the activities, map, group work, and participation of the students. Even though the activity focuses on the Civil Rights Movement, it is hoped the student begins to see these concepts in today's world.

DAY FOUR

TITLE: African-Americans Experience with the Civil Rights Movement.

THEME: Discrimination.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Discrimination is actions or practices that are carried out by the members of dominant groups, or their representatives, which have a different or negative impact on members of subordinate group (Andrzejewski 4).

2. During the Civil Rights Movement, the process of removing some discrimination from institutions was attempted. Some success occurred, but other actions did not affect the oppressive system in place which affects African-Americans.

OBJECTIVES--STUDENT WILL:

1. Understand the human relations concept of discrimination.

2. Be introduced to types of discrimination including: isolated discrimination, small group discrimination, direct institutional discrimination, indirect institutional discrimination.

3. Experience through the media of video the Civil Rights Movement.

4. Identify in elementary ways different types of discrimination in the Civil Rights Movement.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time is one day with time the following day to finish.

2. Material will consist of:

   A. Continued use of Human Relations Term Sheet.

   B. A video called "Ain't Scared of your Jails", produced by Blackside, Inc. and PBS video, Alexandria, VA.

   C. Instructional information or vocabulary from Andrzejewski.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. The first part of the class is an introduction to different types of discrimination: isolated discrimination, small group discrimination, direct institutional discrimination, and indirect institutional discrimination. The definitions should be placed on the Human Relations Term Sheet.

2. The students will then be asked to write on a blank piece of paper the four different types of discrimination leaving space for them to write examples. These examples will come from the video. Students also will be asked to give their general impressions of the film and the most important theme of the film. The assignment will be due the next class day.

3. Show the video "Ain't Scared of Your Jails" by Blackside, Inc. and PBS Video, Alexandria VA. This will take the students closer into the sounds and events of the 1960s. Issues in the movie include: lunch counter sit-ins, formation of SNCC, the impact of the sit-ins on the 1960 presidential campaign, and the freedom ride. The video is 50 minutes long, so realistically there should be ten minutes left on the tape when the class finishes. The instructor will summarize what was not seen on the next class day.

4. Day ends with the video, and a discussion on the day's activity will take place on next class day.

EVALUATION:

The day's evaluation comes from class participation, papers from the video, and the next day's discussion on the video.

DAY FIVE

TITLE: Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in 1960s.

THEME: African-Americans.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. African-Americans refer to people of African descent living in the United States.

2. The leaders of the Civil Rights Movement have different ideas and concepts of racism and how to remove some barriers of oppression.

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Present finding of research about Civil Rights leaders.

2. Understand different philosophies and activities of persons who influenced and aided the quest for civil rights.

3. By presenting and understanding contributions of individuals, students will gain a clear view of the Civil Rights Movement.

4. Students can consider how they use their own spheres of influence to promote justice and equality.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time--one day.

2. Materials will consist of:

   A. Library reference material.

   B. Worksheet Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement Report Format (ED 266 218) (Attachment 7).

   C. Worksheet Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement Information (Attachment 9).

   D. Instructional information: ED 266 218, vocabulary--Andrezejewski, political--Patterson.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. The goal of this day is to tie all the history part of the curriculum together in order to proceed into current issues of the African-American population.

2 Have the students get into groups and pass out "Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement Information (Attachment 9). This form will be used by the students to place information on the details of the life and contributions of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Rosa Parks, Philip Randolph, and Andrew Young.

3. The individual students have five minutes to present their reports to their group..

4. After the reports are completed, conduct a group discussion that concludes the Civil Rights Movement. This should emphasize the individual reports and should also tie human relations topics (oppression/discrimination/etc.) to the video.

5. Before the end of the hour, have the student turn in the Human Relations Term Sheet "Total Nation's Involvement in Civil Rights Movement", map, videotape reactions, and the Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement Report Format and Information Sheet.

EVALUATION:

All of the papers mentioned in number 5 will be evaluated for how successful the students have completed the first part of the curriculum project. Participation in class will also be taken into account. The Human Relations Sheet will be returned the following day, other worksheets will follow.

DAYS SIX AND SEVEN

TITLE: African-American Situation Today.

THEME: Continued oppression and prejudice.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Oppression exists when any entity intentionally or unintentionally inequitably distributes resources, refuses to share power, imposes ethnocentric culture, and/or maintains unresponsive and inflexible institutions towards another entity for its supposed benefit and rationalizes its action by blaming or ignoring the victim.

2. Prejudice involves an irrational and negative attitude directed at an outgroup because of real or alleged physical or cultural characteristics (Andrzejewski 6).

3. As in all times in U.S. history, there is continued oppression and prejudice in society.

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Understand the concepts of oppression and prejudice in today's world.

2. Identify some current oppression and prejudice towards African-Americans in their life.

3. Distinguish between oppression and prejudice.

4. Know that all systems contain institutions that may control a group of people.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time is two days.

2. This is an introduction to the current issues of racism.

3. Materials will consist of:

   A. A number of overheads to explain the economic and social life of African-Americans (Attachments 10-14).

   B. A Minneapolis Star Tribune special reprint "Issue of Race" (Attachments 15, 16, 17).

   C. Instructor's material: vocabulary--Andrzejewski; political--Patterson; social--Eitzen and Lauer.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. The next two days will take more preparation time for the instructor. Most of this curriculum project has focused on discussion between class and teacher, or group activities. The first day of current issues of African-Americans will be mostly lecture, but hopefully the class can interact with the discussion.

2. At the beginning of the day the instructor will tie the past to the present. This will bring the subject closer to the student and is the base for the rest of the project. The introduction begins with the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement (even though some people believe it is continuing and actually should continue). Some points that should be stated in the introduction to the day include:

   a. During the later part of the 1960s Vietnam took attention and money away from programs that would have helped people of color.

   b. Rising expectations of African-Americans were not met in terms of jobs or other benefits.

   c. When Martin Luther King was murdered in 1968, the most active part of the modern Civil Rights Movement came to an end.

   d. Most significant progress for equality occurred during the 1960s.

   e. The status of African-Americans has deteriorated since the Civil Rights Movement (Patterson (149). Why? (Big question.) Some answers are institutional racism. Others are that power holders do not want to give up power (so oppression), core ideas or traditions (liberty, equality, individualism, diversity, unity, self-government) are myths and are not always in practice (or even used against a population) (4,5).

   f. American focus for equality has been limited. One of the largest problems in the U.S. is discrimination (164-65). In order for this class to understand how a country with many resources can have so much discrimination, it needs to understand the inequality that takes place today. This will enable us as a people to better understand oppression, racism, and prejudice towards African-Americans.

3. Areas of focus in the lecture part of the lesson include basic patterns of institutional discrimination, income, education, unemployment, types of employment, and health. Also discussed is the African-American family.

4. Students are expected to take notes of the most important concepts, and the instructor will suggest what is important. This includes the basic patterns of institutional discrimination

and some trends, but not statistics. Students can ask questions during any part of the lecture.

5. In the area of income, Overheads 1 and 1A (Attachments (10 and 11) show inequalities in household income (Patterson 145). The main point is when the economy was in an economic upturn in the 1980s African-Americans income was lower. Poverty was persistent in the African-American population during this time. Poverty rate is shown on the Overhead 2 (Attachment 12), 33.1% for African-Americans compared to 10.5% for whites (1987). The children's poverty rate was 47.7% for African-Americans and 16.2% for whites. This information shows that the African-American population as a whole is being discriminated against economically by society's institutions (Eitzen 28).

6. In the area of education, the discussion will focus on low educational achievement is a major barrier to people of color. Overhead 3, (Attachment 11) on education shows differences in completion of years in school. The main point is a lower level of achievement does not help the population and increases oppression. Why do African-Americans have lower achievement? Discrimination in the schools, language differences, malnutrition, drug abuse, and teenage pregnancy are all factors that can be discussed. Even with a college education, African-American earn $15,000 less annually than a white college graduate (288, 90).

7. In the area of unemployment, focus on African-American rates usually are double the national rate. Overhead 4 (Attachment 14), unemployment shows the difference in 1988. The discussion suggests that social unrest can increase with unemployment. Social problems due to unemployment may be a reason for crime rates and add to the problems of racism (even part of racism) (290-91).

8. In the area of employment, the focus is that even African-American people not affected by unemployment are overrepresented in jobs where pay, power, and prestige are low. These jobs are in blue-collar, service industries. One other problem is the U.S. economy is switching from a manufacturing based to informational and service based. The effects of this for people of color is the trend towards unemployment, low pay, and changing distribution of jobs. This is a system that is becoming more oppressive to the African-American population (291-2).

9. The last area of discussion is health, which is another area in which people of color are disadvantaged. Some examples include: years of life averages 6 years less for African-Americans than whites, racial inequalities exist in the kinds of medical care people of color receive, and in the number of people without health care African-Americans (21.8%, whites 10.1%) (292).

10. If time permits on Day 6, discuss the African-American family. The greater likelihood is that it would be a single-parent family, divorced or widowed. Bring this in context to the other issues discussed on this day. Point out some positive points about the

African-Americans lives such as the fact that the black single-parent family tends to adjust better to their situation than do whites. This is because of extended family support and greater acceptance of single parenthood (Lauer 460-466).

11. This day is for the students to begin to see the important issues that are involved in African-American lives. There will be positives and negatives involved, and the students will gain a better understanding.

12. Before the end of the day, pass out a Minneapolis Star Tribune special reprint "Issue of Race" (Attachments 15, 16, 17).

13. For the next day, have all the students read the introduction called "To Discuss Issues of Race, We Must Look at Ourselves". Then with the class in groups of five have three groups focus on the article "Race Not an Issue to Many", by Bob van Sternberg (Attachment 16), and three other groups focus on "On Race, Local Media Deserves Euthanasia", by Syl Jones (Attachment 17). Other articles of interest include: "Birth to Death: Race Sets our Agenda for Life", by Kim Ode, "Neighborhoods' Clout Tied to Color", by Allen Short, "Media Reports Reflect Racial Attitudes", by David Peterson.

14. End of Day 6.

15. Start of Day 7.

16. Instructor brings general overview of issues presented in Day 6 into context of human relations issues of oppression and prejudice.

17. The class is divided into groups to summarize and give general reactions to the readings for one-half hour. The reactions and information is taken down by individual members.

18. When the time for group discussion is completed, the instructor will have the groups briefly summarize and give their reactions to the articles. The teacher asks questions to the groups who will give short answers.

19. With the discussion of the articles, it should bring into better context the issue of racism and other factors presented the day before. This will lead into the next day's activities of issues of African-American population (Day 8) and the action day (Day 9).

EVALUATION:

By taking part in these exercises, it is hoped the students will develop an awareness of African-American issues. This should be accomplished by the lecture of day 6 and newspaper activity of day 7. It is hoped that the students will relate the issues to human relations concepts that have been discussed in this curriculum project. The grading of this project involves the effort of the groups and discussion.

DAY EIGHT

TITLE: Issues of African-Americans Today.

THEME: Color consciousness and discrimination.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Color consciousness is a belief that one's racial identify should be affirmed and appreciated.

2. Discrimination involves actions or practices carried out by members of dominant groups or their representatives which have a differential and negative impact on members of subordinate groups (Andrzejewski 4).

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Understand color consciousness and discrimination better.

2. Know some issues of the African-American community.

3. Identify some similarities and differences from African-American experiences and their personal experiences.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time--one day.

2. Activity is an attempt to have the students have closer contact with people of color either by having a speaker or viewing a video. In so doing, these issues and general lifestyles may be presented.

3. Materials will consist of:

   A. A video dealing with current issues, race identity, and race relations. "Liberty", ABC Video Enterprise, Inc. Address: Films for the Humanities and Sciences, Inc., Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543-2053.

   OR

   B. A panel, or speaker, (whichever is possible) to discuss issues and lives of African-Americans. These people should have a variety of backgrounds in order to present how diverse the population is. Note, this is another idea if video is not available, but this will not be discussed in the activities to follow. If used, this idea

will follow the same directions, but have students come up with questions to ask panel members before the class.

C. Instructors material for vocabulary from Andrzejewski.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. Beginning of the class bring up the concept of color consciousness. Give examples from the last two class days. The concept should be a connector for human relations issues discussed in the past (i.e., oppression, prejudice, racism).

2. After successfully understanding the concept of color consciousness, have the students take out a blank sheet of paper. Give them directions first to look for color consciousness in the video "Liberty". Second to right down African-American issues that are presented in the video. Third, right down questions they would like to know about African-Americans.

3. Then show the video "Liberty" from Capital Cities/ABC Video Enterprises. This video discusses race relations in the 1990s. Also, it looks at what extent should African-Americans strive to maintain cultural heritage or assimilation into American society. It is unique in that it discusses these issues with a group of white and African-American high school students and then later with a mixed-race group of college students. This should have the effect of bringing issues closer to the students understanding.

4. Day will end with the video, but issues discussed in the movie and questions on students papers will be used on the next class day.

EVALUATION:

For this day, evaluation comes in the form of the responses on the students papers and the discussion to follow the next day. All of these should be related to issues and human relations concepts.

DAY NINE

TITLE: Evaluation and Action Day.

THEME: Dealing with Racism.

SPECIFIC CONCEPTS:

1. Racism is the systematic oppression and exploitation of human beings on the basis of belonging to a particular racial group.

2. Racism is intentional or unintentional.

3. Racism is prejudice with power (Andrzejewski 6).

OBJECTIVES--STUDENTS WILL:

1. Demonstrate what they have learned about racism by a take home short essay test.

2. Making sure the students understand the concepts and issues involved on the Human Relations Term Sheet.

3. Describe constructive ways of channelling personal power towards societal change.

4. Provide a forum for future discussions of racism.

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

1. Instruction time will be one day unless there is need for additional time the next day.

2. The activity provides an opportunity to expand into other human relations issues or other oppressed groups.

3. Materials will consist of:

   A. Take home essay Test sheet with directions (Attachment 18).

   B. Contact with a population of African-American tenth graders. For the class to have a better understanding of African-Americans, there must be some contact with the population that has been studied. This activity involves having a group discussion between the class and another group of 10th graders from an African-American background. This could be accomplished by the class going to another school, the other group coming to our school, or video hookup between the schools.

TEACHER/LEARNER ACTIVITIES:

1. At the beginning of the class the instructor will hand out a take home written exam (Attachment 18). This will be due in three days, and the instructor will read the directions to the students (Attachment 13).

2. In some form (video hookup, travel to another school, or another group comes to the school), a group of African-American students will have a discussion session with my class. The rationale for this activity is: first, there needs some contact between the two populations; second, it brings all the human relations issues to a functional level (everyday level); finally, it presents an opportunity for the students to ask questions to gain a better knowledge of African-Americans. This is an action day in that the students begin to learn how to interact with African-Americans and take abstract concepts and see how they apply in the "real world".

3. The discussion is in an open forum. Students are asked to supply questions they have or from the video exercise of the day before.

4. The instructor can ask questions to initiate communication back and forth from the two groups. Some questions might include:

   A. How does racism affect you today?

   B. How can some of the problems between the two groups be resolved?

   C. Is there a lack of opportunities for African-Americans; etc.

5. The day will end with the discussion. The activity could be followed up the next day with a class discussion or proceed on to discussion of another oppressed group.

EVALUATION:

All in all, this curriculum project has focused on African-American issues relating to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and to the 1990s. The students should have a better knowledge of the power structure of the nation and of how institutions can limit certain populations of people. This all evolves around human relations issues. The students will be graded on how well they understand the concepts as demonstrated by the essay test. Other evaluations include group discussion, different projects completed, and interaction between different members of the discussion groups. Again, I hope this project is a beginning to a study on other racial groups and also different -isms.

ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT 1

A GROUP OPPRESSED

NOTE: This short history of the African-American experience in North America is to show how the group has been oppressed by the systems in place. The essay does not, however, show the cultural side of African-American history that is equally important.

The slave trade brought African-Americans to North America from the 1500s until the Civil War. The slaves were defined as property and denied the rights given to other members of society. Families could be broken up for any reason the owner desired. Slave owners used their power in several ways to maintain their dominance over their slaves. They demanded absolute obedience, and to question authority meant physical punishment. The slaves were taught to defer to their masters and to accept their own inferiority. They were taught to identify with their masters' economic success. Finally, slaves were made to feel dependent on their masters, primarily by restricting their education (Nash 64-69).

After the Civil War, the newly freed blacks remained powerless. They did not have the skills and resources to break away from their dependence on whites. Because whites owned the land, African-Americans were forced to enter into sharecropping agreements where they would farm the land, take all the risks, and return a percentage of the crops harvested to the owner. Typically, the sharecropper would borrow on the next year's crop to purchase equipment, food, and clothing. In this way a cycle of indebtedness developed that bound the sharecroppers as if they were slaves (Norton 457).

During this same period many states passed "Jim Crow" laws mandating racial segregation in almost all areas of life. These laws, which legalized white domination, remained in effect until about 1965.

Although the Fourteenth Amendment gave African-Americans the right to vote after the Civil War, the white majority in the southern states used a variety of intimidation methods. Those who tried to vote were often beaten, lynched, or their property was destroyed. If they did vote, the only choices were candidates selected by whites. Legal obstacles also prevented African-Americans from voting. Literacy tests and poll taxes prevented many from voting because of a lack of education and being poor. The Twenty-Fourth Amendment (1964) prohibited literacy tests and poll taxes (Nash 582-586).

Beginning with World War I, African-Americans began to move from the rural south to the urban north in order to work in industry short workers because of the war. After the war, African-Americans experienced large-scale discrimination because when the soldiers returned home jobs became scarce (746-747). World War II created a new demand for more workers in the north, and so an increased number of African-Americans migrated from the south.

African-Americans had served in the war and helped produce products in industries, and their population was concentrated in the cities. As a result, following the war, African-Americans were unwilling to accept continued discrimination (904-08). These and other factors led to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The results of the 1960s included favorable legislation and court decisions, but still African-Americans could not overcome discrimination and difficult economic conditions.

ATTACHMENT 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS: Answer questions to the best of your ability. This will not be turned in, and your views are confidential unless you are willing to present them.

1. Do you have any friends who are African-Americans?

2. How do your guardian(s) react to African-Americans?

3. How do you react when you have contact with African-Americans?

4. Do you live by any African-Americans? If "Yes", how many?

5. What are some stereotypes of African-Americans?

6. Do you feel African-Americans are treated fairly by different institutions? Discriminated against?

7. Do you see racism in your everyday life? Explain.

8. Give your general feelings about African-Americans.

ATTACHMENT 3

HUMAN RELATIONS TERM SHEET

- African-Americans--

- Blaming the victim--

- Color consciousness--

- Discrimination--

  Types of:
  1. Isolated discrimination--

  2. Small group discrimination--

  3. Direct institutional discrimination--

  4. Indirect institutional discrimination--

- Ideology--

- Institution--

- Institutional racism--

- Oppression--

- Prejudice--

- Racism--

ATTACHMENT 4

TOTAL NATION'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

DIRECTIONS: Use the following dates to investigate the events provided in Chapter 17, "Or Does It Explode?" by Howard Zinn. Work in your groups to find the information. First, generally plot on the following political map where the events took place. Then on the space provided or on another sheet list: (1) The event; (2) Groups/people involved; (3) What the event was about; (4) Results.

1. End of 1955 (p. 442).

2. February 1, 1960 (p. 444).

3. May 4, 1961 (p. 444-45).

4. Winter 1961 (p. 446).

5. Summer of 1964 (p. 447).

6. Summer of 1963 (p. 448).

7. August 1965 (p. 450).

8. Summer of 1966 (450-5).

9. 1967 (451-53).

10. Spring of 1968 (453-454) (HINT: Martin Luther King spoke out on _____.)

ATTACHMENT 5

A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

"Historians may well view it as a step toward a coherent new version of American history."
—Eric Foner, *New York Times Book Review*

HOWARD ZINN

17.
"Or Does It Explode?"

The black revolt of the 1950s and 1960s—North and South—came as a surprise. But perhaps it should not have. The memory of oppressed people is one thing that cannot be taken away, and for such people, with such memories, revolt is always an inch below the surface. For blacks in the United States, there was the memory of slavery, and after that of segregation, lynching, humiliation. And it was not just a memory but a living presence—part of the daily lives of blacks in generation after generation.

In the 1930s, Langston Hughes wrote a poem, "Lenox Avenue Mural":

> What happens to a dream deferred?
> Does it dry up
> like a raisin in the sun?
> Or fester like a sore –
> And then run?
> Does it stink like rotten meat?
> Or crust and sugar over –
> like a syrupy sweet?
>
> Maybe it just sags like a heavy load
>
> Or does it explode?

In a society of complex controls, both crude and refined, secret thoughts can often be found in the arts, and so it was in black society. Perhaps the blues, however pathetic, concealed anger; and the jazz, however joyful, portended rebellion. And then the poetry, the thoughts no longer so secret. In the 1920s, Claude McKay, one of the figures of what came to be called the "Harlem Renaissance," wrote a poem that Henry Cabot Lodge put in the *Congressional Record* as an example of dangerous currents among young blacks:

> If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot . . .
> Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

Countee Cullen's poem "Incident" evoked memories—all different, all the same—out of every black American's childhood:

Once riding in old Baltimore,
Heart-filled, head-filled with glee,
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.

Now I was eight and very small,
And he was no whit bigger,
And so I smiled, but he poked out
His tongue, and called me, "Nigger."

I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December;
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember.

At the time of the Scottsboro Boys incident, Cullen wrote a bitter poem noting that white poets had used their pens to protest in other cases of injustice, but now that blacks were involved, most were silent. His last stanza was:

Surely, I said,
Now will the poets sing.
But they have raised no cry.
I wonder why.

Even outward subservience—Uncle Tom behavior in real situations, the comic or fawning Negro on the stage, the self-ridicule, the caution—concealed resentment, anger, energy. The black poet Paul Laurence Dunbar, in the era of the black minstrel, around the turn of the century, wrote "We Wear the Mask":

We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,—

. . We sing, but oh, the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile;
But let the world dream otherwise,
We wear the mask.

Two black performers of that time played the minstrel and satirized it at the same time. When Bert Williams and George Walker billed themselves as "Two Real Coons," they were, Nathan Huggins says, "intending to give style and comic dignity to a fiction that white men had created. . . ."

By the 1930s the mask was off for many black poets. Langston Hughes wrote "I, Too."

I, too, sing America

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll be at the table
When company comes. . . .

Gwendolyn Bennett wrote:

I want to see lithe Negro girls,
Etched dark against the sky
While sunset lingers. . . .

I want to hear the chanting
Around a heathen fire
Of a strange black race. . . .

I want to feel the surging
Of my sad people's soul
Hidden by a minstrel-smile.

There was Margaret Walker's prose-poem "For My People":

. . . Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth, let a people loving freedom come to growth, let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control!

By the 1940s there was Richard Wright, a gifted novelist, a black man. His autobiography of 1937, *Black Boy*, gave endless insights: for instance, how blacks were set against one another, when he told how he was prodded to fight another black boy for the amusement of white men. *Black Boy* expressed unashamedly every humiliation and then:

The white South said that it knew "niggers," and I was what the white South called a "nigger." Well, the white South had never known me—never known what I thought, what I felt. The white South said that I had a "place"

in life. Well, I had never felt my "place"; or, rather, my deepest instincts had always made me reject the "place" to which the white South had assigned me. It had never occurred to me that I was in any way an inferior being. And no word that I had ever heard fall from the lips of southern white men had ever made me really doubt the worth of my own humanity.

It was all there in the poetry, the prose, the music, sometimes masked, sometimes unmistakably clear—the signs of a people unbeaten, waiting, hot, coiled.

In *Black Boy*, Wright told about the training of black children in America to keep them silent. But also:

> How do Negroes feel about the way they have to live? How do they discuss it when alone among themselves? I think this question can be answered in a single sentence. A friend of mine who ran an elevator once told me:
>
> "Lawd, man! Ef it wuzn't fer them polices 'n' them ol' lynch mobs, there wouldn't be nothin' but uproar down here!"

Richard Wright, for a time, joined the Communist party (he tells of this period of his life, and his disillusionment with the party, in *The God That Failed*). The Communist party was known to pay special attention to the problem of race equality. When the Scottsboro case unfolded in the 1930s in Alabama, it was the Communist party that had become associated with the defense of these young black men imprisoned, in the early years of the Depression, by southern injustice.

The party was accused by liberals and the NAACP of exploiting the issue for its own purposes, and there was a half-truth in it, but black people were realistic about the difficulty of having white allies who were pure in motive. The other half of the truth was that black Communists in the South had earned the admiration of blacks by their organizing work against enormous obstacles. There was Hosea Hudson, the black organizer of the unemployed in Birmingham, for instance. And in Georgia, in 1932, a nineteen-year-old black youth named Angelo Herndon, whose father died of miner's pneumonia, who had worked in mines as a boy in Kentucky, joined an Unemployment Council in Birmingham organized by the Communist party, and then joined the party. He wrote later:

> All my life I'd been sweated and stepped-on and Jim-Crowed. I lay on my belly in the mines for a few dollars a week, and saw my pay stolen and slashed, and my buddies killed. I lived in the worst section of town, and rode behind the "Colored" signs on streetcars, as though there was something disgusting about me. I heard myself called "nigger" and "darky" and I had

> to say "Yes, sir" to every white man, whether he had my respect or not.
>
> I had always detested it, but I had never known that anything could be done about it. And here, all of a sudden, I had found organizations in which Negroes and whites sat together, and worked together, and knew no difference of race or color. . . .

Herndon became a Communist party organizer in Atlanta. He and his fellow Communists organized block committees of Unemployment Councils in 1932 which got rent relief for needy people. They organized a demonstration to which a thousand people came, six hundred of them white, and the next day the city voted $6,000 in relief to the jobless. But soon after that Herndon was arrested, held incommunicado, and charged with violating a Georgia statute against insurrection. He recalled his trial:

> The state of Georgia displayed the literature that had been taken from my room, and read passages of it to the jury. They questioned me in great detail. Did I believe that the bosses and government ought to pay insurance to unemployed workers? That Negroes should have complete equality with white people? Did I believe in the demand for the self-determination of the Black Belt—that the Negro people should be allowed to rule the Black Belt territory, kicking out the white landlords and government officials? Did I feel that the working-class could run the mills and mines and government? That it wasn't necessary to have bosses at all?
>
> I told them I believed all of that—and more. . . .

Herndon was convicted and spent five years in prison until in 1937 the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the Georgia statute under which he was found guilty. It was men like him who represented to the Establishment a dangerous militancy among blacks, made more dangerous when linked with the Communist party.

There were others who made that same connection, magnifying the danger: Benjamin Davis, the black lawyer who defended Herndon at his trial; nationally renowned men like singer and actor Paul Robeson, and writer and scholar W. E. B. Du Bois, who did not hide their support and sympathy for the Communist party. The Negro was not as anti-Communist as the white population. He could not afford to be, his friends were so few—so that Herndon, Davis, Robeson, Du Bois, however their political views might be maligned by the country as a whole, found admiration for their fighting spirit in the black community.

The black militant mood, flashing here and there in the thirties, was reduced to a subsurface simmering during World War II, when

the nation on the one hand denounced racism, and on the other hand maintained segregation in the armed forces and kept blacks in low-paying jobs. When the war ended, a new element entered the racial balance in the United States—the enormous, unprecedented upsurge of black and yellow people in Africa and Asia.

President Harry Truman had to reckon with this, especially as the cold war rivalry with the Soviet Union began, and the dark-skinned revolt of former colonies all over the world threatened to take Marxist form. Action on the race question was needed, not just to calm a black population at home emboldened by war promises, frustrated by the basic sameness of their condition. It was needed to present to the world a United States that could counter the continuous Communist thrust at the most flagrant failure of American society—the race question. What Du Bois had said long ago, unnoticed, now loomed large in 1945: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line."

President Harry Truman, in late 1946, appointed a Committee on Civil Rights, which recommended that the civil rights section of the Department of Justice be expanded, that there be a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, that Congress pass laws against lynching and to stop voting discrimination, and suggested new laws to end racial discrimination in jobs.

Truman's Committee was blunt about its motivation in making these recommendations. Yes, it said, there was "moral reason:" a matter of conscience. But there was also an "economic reason"—discrimination was costly to the country, wasteful of its talent. And, perhaps most important, there was an international reason:

> Our position in the post-war world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. . . . We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics. The world's press and radio are full of it. . . . Those with competing philosophies have stressed—and are shamelessly distorting—our shortcomings. . . . They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludicrous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends. The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

The United States was out in the world now in a way it had never been. The stakes were large—world supremacy. And, as Truman's Committee said: ". . . our smallest actions have far-reaching effects."

And so the United States went ahead to take small actions, hoping they would have large effects. Congress did not move to enact the legislation asked for by the Committee on Civil Rights. But Truman—four months before the presidential election of 1948, and challenged from the left in that election by Progressive party candidate Henry Wallace—issued an executive order asking that the armed forces, segregated in World War II, institute policies of racial equality "as rapidly as possible." The order may have been prompted not only by the election but by the need to maintain black morale in the armed forces, as the possibility of war grew. It took over a decade to complete the desegregation in the military.

Truman could have issued executive orders in other areas, but did not. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, plus the set of laws passed in the late 1860s and early 1870s, gave the President enough authority to wipe out racial discrimination. The Constitution demanded that the President execute the laws, but no President had used that power. Neither did Truman. For instance, he asked Congress for legislation "prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities"; but specific legislation in 1887 already barred discrimination in interstate transportation and had never been enforced by executive action.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court was taking steps—ninety years after the Constitution had been amended to establish racial equality—to move toward that end. During the war it ruled that the "white primary" used to exclude blacks from voting in the Democratic party primaries—which in the South were really the elections—was unconstitutional.

In 1954, the Court finally struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine that it had defended since the 1890s. The NAACP brought a series of cases before the Court to challenge segregation in the public schools, and now in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* the Court said the separation of schoolchildren "generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." In the field of public education, it said, "the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." The Court did not insist on immediate change: a year later it said that segregated facilities should be integrated "with all deliberate speed." By 1965, ten years after the "all deliberate speed" guideline, more than 75 percent of the school districts in the South remained segregated.

Still, it was a dramatic decision—and the message went around the world in 1954 that the American government had outlawed segrega-

tion. In the United States too, for those not thinking about the customary gap between word and fact, it was an exhilarating sign of change.

What to others seemed rapid progress to blacks was apparently not enough. In the early 1960s black people rose in rebellion all over the South. And in the late 1960s they were engaging in wild insurrection in a hundred northern cities. It was all a surprise to those without that deep memory of slavery, that everyday presence of humiliation, registered in the poetry, the music, the occasional outbursts of anger, the more frequent sullen silences. Part of that memory was of words uttered, laws passed, decisions made, which turned out to be meaningless.

For such a people, with such a memory, and such daily recapitulation of history, revolt was always minutes away, in a timing mechanism which no one had set, but which might go off with some unpredictable set of events. Those events came, at the end of 1955, in the capital city of Alabama—Montgomery.

Three months after her arrest, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a forty-three-year-old seamstress, explained why she refused to obey the Montgomery law providing for segregation on city buses, why she decided to sit down in the "white" section of the bus:

> Well, in the first place, I had been working all day on the job. I was quite tired after spending a full day working. I handle and work on clothing that white people wear. That didn't come in my mind but this is what I wanted to know, when and how would we ever determine our rights as human beings? . . . It just happened that the driver made a demand and I just didn't feel like obeying his demand. He called a policeman and I was arrested and placed in jail . . .

Montgomery blacks called a mass meeting. They voted to boycott all city buses. Car pools were organized to take Negroes to work; most people walked. The city retaliated by indicting one hundred leaders of the boycott, and sent many to jail. White segregationists turned to violence. Bombs exploded in four Negro churches. A shotgun blast was fired through the front door of the home of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the twenty-seven-year-old Atlanta-born minister who was one of the leaders of the boycott. King's home was bombed. But the black people of Montgomery persisted, and in November 1956, the Supreme Court outlawed segregation on local bus lines.

Montgomery was the beginning. It forecast the style and mood of the vast protest movement that would sweep the South in the next

ten years: emotional church meetings, Christian hymns adapted to current battles, references to lost American ideals, the commitment to nonviolence, the willingness to struggle and sacrifice. A *New York Times* reporter described a mass meeting in Montgomery during the boycott:

> One after the other, indicted Negro leaders took the rostrum in a crowded Baptist church tonight to urge their followers to shun the city's buses and "walk with God."
>
> More than two thousand Negroes filled the church from basement to balcony and overflowed into the street. They chanted and sang; they shouted and prayed; they collapsed in the aisles and they sweltered in an eighty-five degree heat. They pledged themselves again and again to "passive resistance." Under this banner they have carried on for eighty days a stubborn boycott of the city's buses.

Martin Luther King at that meeting gave a preview of the oratory that would soon inspire millions of people to demand racial justice. He said the protest was not merely over buses but over things that "go deep down into the archives of history." He said:

> We have known humiliation, we have known abusive language, we have been plunged into the abyss of oppression. And we decided to raise up only with the weapon of protest. It is one of the greatest glories of America that we have the right of protest.
>
> If we are arrested every day, if we are exploited every day, if we are trampled over every day, don't ever let anyone pull you so low as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love. We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us. We must realize so many people are taught to hate us that they are not totally responsible for their hate. But we stand in life at midnight, we are always on the threshold of a new dawn.

King's stress on love and nonviolence was powerfully effective in building a sympathetic following throughout the nation, among whites as well as blacks. But there were blacks who thought the message naïve, that while there were misguided people who might be won over by love, there were others who would have to be bitterly fought, and not always with nonviolence. Two years after the Montgomery boycott, in Monroe, North Carolina, an ex-marine named Robert Williams, the president of the local NAACP, became known for his view that blacks should defend themselves against violence, with guns if necessary. When local Klansmen attacked the home of one of the leaders of the Monroe NAACP, Williams and other blacks, armed with rifles, fired back. The Klan left. (The Klan was being challenged now with its own tactic of

violence; a Klan raid on an Indian community in North Carolina was repelled by Indians firing rifles.)

Still, in the years that followed, southern blacks stressed nonviolence. On February 1, 1960, four freshmen at a Negro college in Greensboro, North Carolina, decided to sit down at the Woolworth's lunch counter downtown, where only whites ate. They were refused service, and when they would not leave, the lunch counter was closed for the day. The next day they returned, and then, day after day, other Negroes came to sit silently.

In the next two weeks, sit-ins spread to fifteen cities in five southern states. A seventeen-year-old sophomore at Spelman College in Atlanta, Ruby Doris Smith, heard about Greensboro:

> When the student committee was formed . . . I told my older sister . . . to put me on the list. And when two hundred students were selected for the first demonstration I was among them. I went through the food line in the restaurant at the State Capitol with six other students, but when we got to the cashier she wouldn't take our money . . . The Lieutenant-Governor came down and told us to leave. We didn't and went to the county jail.

In his Harlem apartment in New York, a young Negro teacher of mathematics named Bob Moses saw a photo in the newspapers of the Greensboro sit-inners. "The students in that picture had a certain look on their faces, sort of sullen, angry, determined. Before, the Negro in the South had always looked on the defensive, cringing. This time they were taking the initiative. They were kids my age, and I knew this had something to do with my own life."

There was violence against the sit-inners. But the idea of taking the initiative against segregation took hold. In the next twelve months, more than fifty thousand people, mostly black, some white, participated in demonstrations of one kind or another in a hundred cities, and over 3,600 people were put in jail. But by the end of 1960, lunch counters were open to blacks in Greensboro and many other places.

A year after the Greensboro incident, a northern-based group dedicated to racial equality—CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)—organized "Freedom Rides" in which blacks and whites traveled together on buses going through the South, to try to break the segregation pattern in interstate travel. Such segregation had long been illegal, but the federal government never enforced the law in the South; the President now was John F. Kennedy, but he too seemed cautious about the race

question, concerned about the support of southern white leaders of the Democratic party.

The two buses that left Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1961, headed for New Orleans, never got there. In South Carolina, riders were beaten. In Alabama, a bus was set afire. Freedom Riders were attacked with fists and iron bars. The southern police did not interfere with any of this violence, nor did the federal government. FBI agents watched, took notes, did nothing.

At this point, veterans of the sit-ins, who had recently formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), dedicated to nonviolent but militant action for equal rights, organized another Freedom Ride, from Nashville to Birmingham. Before they started out, they called the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., to ask for protection. As Ruby Doris Smith reported: ". . . the Justice Department said no, they couldn't protect anyone, but if something happened, they would investigate. You know how they do. . . ."

The racially mixed SNCC Freedom Riders were arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, spent a night in jail, were taken to the Tennessee border by police, made their way back to Birmingham, took a bus to Montgomery, and there were attacked by whites with fists and clubs, in a bloody scene. They resumed their trip, to Jackson, Mississippi.

By this time the Freedom Riders were in the news all over the world, and the government was anxious to prevent further violence. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, instead of insisting on their right to travel without being arrested, agreed to the Freedom Riders' being arrested in Jackson, in return for Mississippi police protection against possible mob violence. As Victor Navasky comments in *Kennedy Justice*, about Robert Kennedy: "He didn't hesitate to trade the freedom riders' constitutional right to interstate travel for Senator Eastland's guarantee of their right to live."

The Freedom Riders did not become subdued in jail. They resisted, protested, sang, demanded their rights. Stokely Carmichael recalled later how he and his fellow inmates were singing in the Parchman jail in Mississippi and the sheriff threatened to take away their mattresses.

> I hung on to the mattress and said, "I think we have a right to them and I think you're unjust." And he said, "I don't want to hear all that shit, nigger," and started to put on the wristbreakers. I wouldn't move and started to sing "I'm Gonna Tell God How You Treat Me" and everybody started

to sing it, and by this time Tyson was really to pieces. He called to the trusties, "Get him in there!" and he went out the door and slammed it, and left everybody else with their mattresses.

In Albany, Georgia, a small deep-South town where the atmosphere of slavery still lingered, mass demonstrations took place in the winter of 1961 and again in 1962. Of 22,000 black people in Albany, over a thousand went to jail for marching, assembling, to protest segregation and discrimination. Here, as in all the demonstrations that would sweep over the South, little black children participated—a new generation was learning to act. The Albany police chief, after one of the mass arrests, was taking the names of prisoners lined up before his desk. He looked up and saw a Negro boy about nine years old. "What's your name?" The boy looked straight at him and said: "Freedom, Freedom."

There is no way of measuring the effect of that southern movement on the sensibilities of a whole generation of young black people, or of tracing the process by which some of them became activists and leaders. In Lee County, Georgia, after the events of 1961–1962, a black teenager named James Crawford joined SNCC and began taking black people to the county courthouse to vote. One day, bringing a woman there, he was approached by the deputy registrar. Another SNCC worker took notes on the conversation:

REGISTRAR: What do you want?
CRAWFORD: I brought this lady down to register.
REGISTRAR: (after giving the woman a card to fill out and sending her outside in the hall) Why did you bring this lady down here?
CRAWFORD: Because she wants to be a first class citizen like y'all.
REGISTRAR: Who are you to bring people down to register?
CRAWFORD: It's my job.
REGISTRAR: Suppose you get two bullets in your head right now?
CRAWFORD: I got to die anyhow.
REGISTRAR: If I don't do it, I can get somebody else to do it. (No reply)
REGISTRAR: Are you scared?
CRAWFORD: No
REGISTRAR: Suppose somebody came in that door and shoot you in the back of the head right now. What would you do?
CRAWFORD: I couldn't do nothing. If they shoot me in the back of the head there are people coming from all over the world.
REGISTRAR: What people?
CRAWFORD: The people I work for.

In Birmingham in 1963, thousands of blacks went into the streets, facing police clubs, tear gas, dogs, high-powered water hoses. And meanwhile, all over the deep South, the young people of SNCC, mostly black, a few white, were moving into communities in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas. Joined by local black people, they were organizing, to register people to vote, to protest against racism, to build up courage against violence. The Department of Justice recorded 1412 demonstrations in three months of 1963. Imprisonment became commonplace, beatings became frequent. Many local people were afraid. Others came forward. A nineteen-year-old black student from Illinois named Carver Neblett, working for SNCC in Terrell County, Georgia, reported:

I talked with a blind man who is extremely interested in the civil rights movement. He has been keeping up with the movement from the beginning. Even though this man is blind he wants to learn all the questions on the literacy test. Imagine, while many are afraid that white men will burn our houses, shoot into them, or put us off their property, a blind man, seventy years old, wants to come to our meetings.

As the summer of 1964 approached, SNCC and other civil rights groups working together in Mississippi, and facing increasing violence, decided to call upon young people from other parts of the country for help. They hoped that would bring attention to the situation in Mississippi. Again and again in Mississippi and elsewhere, the FBI had stood by, lawyers for the Justice Department had stood by, while civil rights workers were beaten and jailed, while federal laws were violated.

On the eve of the Mississippi Summer, in early June 1964, the civil rights movement rented a theater near the White House, and a busload of black Mississippians traveled to Washington to testify publicly about the daily violence, the dangers facing the volunteers coming into Mississippi. Constitutional lawyers testified that the national government had the legal power to give protection against such violence. The transcript of this testimony was given to President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy, accompanied by a request for a protective federal presence during the Mississippi Summer. There was no response.

Twelve days after the public hearing, three civil rights workers, James Chaney, a young black Mississippian, and two white volunteers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, were arrested in Philadelphia, Mississippi, released from jail late at night, then seized, beaten

with chains, and shot to death. Ultimately, an informer's testimony led to jail sentences for the sheriff and deputy sheriff and others. That came too late. The Mississippi murders had taken place after the repeated refusal of the national government, under Kennedy or Johnson, or any other President, to defend blacks against violence.

Dissatisfaction with the national government intensified. Later that summer, during the Democratic National Convention in Washington, Mississippi, blacks asked to be seated as part of the state delegation to represent the 40 percent of the state's population who were black. They were turned down by the liberal Democratic leadership, including vice-presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey.

Congress began reacting to the black revolt, the turmoil, the world publicity. Civil rights laws were passed in 1957, 1960, and 1964. They promised much, on voting equality, on employment equality, but were enforced poorly or ignored. In 1965, President Johnson sponsored and Congress passed an even stronger Voting Rights Law, this time ensuring on-the-spot federal protection of the right to register and vote. The effect on Negro voting in the South was dramatic. In 1952, a million southern blacks (20 percent of those eligible) registered to vote. In 1964 the number was 2 million—40 percent. By 1968, it was 3 million, 60 percent—the same percentage as white voters.

The federal government was trying—without making fundamental changes—to control an explosive situation, to channel anger into the traditional cooling mechanism of the ballot box, the polite petition, the officially endorsed quiet gathering. When black civil rights leaders planned a huge march on Washington in the summer of 1963 to protest the failure of the nation to solve the race problem, it was quickly embraced by President Kennedy and other national leaders, and turned into a friendly assemblage.

Martin Luther King's speech there thrilled 200,000 black and white Americans—"I have a dream. . . ." It was magnificent oratory, but without the anger that many blacks felt. When John Lewis, a young Alabama-born SNCC leader, much arrested, much beaten, tried to introduce a stronger note of outrage at the meeting, he was censored by the leaders of the march, who insisted he omit certain sentences critical of the national government and urging militant action.

Eighteen days after the Washington gathering, almost as if in deliberate contempt for its moderation, a bomb exploded in the basement of a black church in Birmingham and four girls attending a Sunday school class were killed. President Kennedy had praised the "deep fervor

and quiet dignity" of the march, but the black militant Malcolm X was probably closer to the mood of the black community. Speaking in Detroit two months after the march on Washington and the Birmingham bombing, Malcolm X said, in his powerful, icy-clear, rhythmic style:

> The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. . . . That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.
>
> It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C. to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in . . . these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off," Kennedy said. "Look you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."
>
> This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it . . . became part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. . . .
>
> No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover. . . . They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make, and then told them to get out of town by sundown. . . .

The accuracy of Malcolm X's caustic description of the march on Washington is corroborated in the description from the other side—from the Establishment, by White House adviser Arthur Schlesinger, in his book *A Thousand Days*. He tells how Kennedy met with the civil rights leaders and said the march would "create an atmosphere of intimidation" just when Congress was considering civil rights bills. A. Philip Randolph replied: "The Negroes are already in the streets. It is very likely impossible to get them off. . . ." Schlesinger says:

"The conference with the President did persuade the civil rights leaders that they should not lay siege to Capitol Hill." Schlesinger describes the Washington march admiringly and then concludes: "So in 1963 Kennedy moved to incorporate the Negro revolution into the democratic coalition. . . ."

But it did not work. The black could not be easily brought into "the democratic coalition" when bombs kept exploding in churches, when new "civil rights" laws did not change the root condition of black people. In the spring of 1963, the rate of unemployment for whites was 4.8 percent. For nonwhites it was 12.1 percent. According to government estimates, one-fifth of the white population was below the poverty line, and one-half of the black population was below that line. The civil rights bills emphasized voting, but voting was not a fundamental solution to racism or poverty. In Harlem, blacks who had voted for years still lived in rat-infested slums.

In precisely those years when civil rights legislation coming out of Congress reached its peak, 1964 and 1965, there were black outbreaks in every part of the country: in Florida, set off by the killing of a Negro woman and a bomb threat against a Negro high school; in Cleveland, set off by the killing of a white minister who sat in the path of a bulldozer to protest discrimination against blacks in construction work; in New York, set off by the fatal shooting of a fifteen-year-old Negro boy during a fight with an off-duty policeman. There were riots also in Rochester, Jersey City, Chicago, Philadelphia.

In August 1965, just as Lyndon Johnson was signing into law the strong Voting Rights Act, providing for federal registration of black voters to ensure their protection, the black ghetto in Watts, Los Angeles, erupted in the most violent urban outbreak since World War II. It was provoked by the forcible arrest of a young Negro driver, the clubbing of a bystander by police, the seizure of a young black woman falsely accused of spitting on the police. There was rioting in the streets, looting and firebombing of stores. Police and National Guardsmen were called in; they used their guns. Thirty-four people were killed, most of them black, hundreds injured, four thousand arrested. Robert Conot, a West Coast journalist, wrote of the riot *(Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness):* "In Los Angeles the Negro was going on record that he would no longer turn the other cheek. That, frustrated and goaded, he would strike back, whether the response of violence was an appropriate one or no."

In the summer of 1966, there were more outbreaks, with rock

throwing, looting, and fire bombing by Chicago blacks and wild shootings by the National Guard; three blacks were killed, one a thirteen-year-old boy, another a fourteen-year-old pregnant girl. In Cleveland, the National Guard was summoned to stop a commotion in the black community; four Negroes were shot to death, two by troopers, two by white civilians.

It seemed clear by now that the nonviolence of the southern movement, perhaps tactically necessary in the southern atmosphere, and effective because it could be used to appeal to national opinion against the segregationist South, was not enough to deal with the entrenched problems of poverty in the black ghetto. In 1910, 90 percent of Negroes lived in the South. But by 1965, mechanical cotton pickers harvested 81 percent of Mississippi Delta cotton. Between 1940 and 1970, 4 million blacks left the country for the city. By 1965, 80 percent of blacks lived in cities and 50 percent of the black people lived in the North.

There was a new mood in SNCC and among many militant blacks. Their disillusionment was expressed by a young black writer, Julius Lester:

> Now it is over. America has had chance after chance to show that it really meant "that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights." . . . Now it is over. The days of singing freedom songs and the days of combating bullets and billy clubs with love. . . . Love is fragile and gentle and seeks a like response. They used to sing "I Love Everybody" as they ducked bricks and bottles. Now they sing:
>
> Too much love,
> Too much love,
> Nothing kills a nigger like
> Too much love.

In 1967, in the black ghettos of the country, came the greatest urban riots of American history. According to the report of the National Advisory Committee on Urban Disorders, they "involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society," symbols of authority and property in the black neighborhoods—rather than purely against white persons. The Commission reported eight major uprisings, thirty-three "serious but not major" outbreaks, and 123 "minor" disorders. Eighty-three died of gunfire, mostly in Newark and Detroit. "The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians."

The "typical rioter," according to the Commission, was a young,

high school dropout but "nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his non-rioting Negro neighbor" and "usually underemployed or employed in a menial job." He was "proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system."

The report blamed "white racism" for the disorders, and identified the ingredients of the "explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II":

> Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education, and housing . . . growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs. . . .
>
> A new mood has sprung up among Negroes, particularly the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to the "system."

But the Commission Report itself was a standard device of the system when facing rebellion: set up an investigating committee, issue a report; the words of the report, however strong, will have a soothing effect

That didn't completely work either. "Black Power" was the new slogan—an expression of distrust of any "progress" given or conceded by whites, a rejection of paternalism. Few blacks (or whites) knew the statement of the white writer Aldous Huxley: "Liberties are not given, they are taken." But the idea was there, in Black Power. Also, a pride in race, an insistence on black independence, and often, on black separation to achieve this independence. Malcolm X was the most eloquent spokesman for this. After he was assassinated as he spoke on a public platform in February 1965, in a plan whose origins are still obscure, he became the martyr of this movement. Hundreds of thousands read his *Autobiography*. He was more influential in death than during his lifetime.

Martin Luther King, though still respected, was being replaced now by new heroes: Huey Newton of the Black Panthers, for instance. The Panthers had guns; they said blacks should defend themselves.

Malcolm X in late 1964 had spoken to black students from Mississippi visiting Harlem:

> You'll get freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom, then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it. When you get that kind of attitude, they'll label you as a "crazy Negro," or they'll call you a "crazy nigger"—they don't say Negro. Or they'll call you an extremist

> or a subversive, or seditious, or a red or a radical. But when you stay radical long enough and get enough people to be like you, you'll get your freedom.

Congress responded to the riots of 1967 by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Presumably it would make stronger the laws prohibiting violence against blacks; it increased the penalties against those depriving people of their civil rights. However, it said: "The provisions of this section shall not apply to acts or omissions on the part of law enforcement officers, members of the National Guard . . . or members of the Armed Forces of the United States, who are engaged in suppressing a riot or civil disturbance. . . ."

Furthermore, it added a section—agreed to by liberal members of Congress in order to get the whole bill passed—that provided up to five years in prison for anyone traveling interstate or using interstate facilities (including mail and telephone) "to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot." It defined a riot as an action by three or more people involving threats of violence. The first person prosecuted under the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was a young black leader of SNCC, H. Rap Brown, who had made a militant, angry speech in Maryland, just before a racial disturbance there. (Later the Act would be used against antiwar demonstrators in Chicago—the Chicago Eight.)

Martin Luther King himself became more and more concerned about problems untouched by civil rights laws—problems coming out of poverty. In the spring of 1968, he began speaking out, against the advice of some Negro leaders who feared losing friends in Washington, against the war in Vietnam. He connected war and poverty:

> . . . it's inevitable that we've got to bring out the question of the tragic mix-up in priorities. We are spending all of this money for death and destruction, and not nearly enough money for life and constructive development . . . when the guns of war become a national obsession, social needs inevitably suffer.

King now became a chief target of the FBI, which tapped his private phone conversations, sent him fake letters, threatened him, blackmailed him, and even suggested once in an anonymous letter that he commit suicide. FBI internal memos discussed finding a black leader to replace King. As a Senate report on the FBI said in 1976, the FBI tried "to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King."

King was turning his attention to troublesome questions. He still insisted on nonviolence. Riots were self-defeating, he thought. But they did express a deep feeling that could not be ignored. And so, nonviolence, he said, "must be militant, massive non-violence." He planned a "Poor

People's Encampment" on Washington, this time not with the paternal approval of the President. And he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of garbage workers in that city. There, standing on a balcony outside his hotel room, he was shot to death by an unseen marksman. The Poor People's Encampment went on, and then it was broken up by police action, just as the World War I veterans' Bonus Army of 1932 was dispersed.

The killing of King brought new urban outbreaks all over the country, in which thirty-nine people were killed, thirty-five of them black. Evidence was piling up that even with all of the civil rights laws now on the books, the courts would not protect blacks against violence and injustice:

1 In the 1967 riots in Detroit, three black teen-agers were killed in the Algiers Motel. Three Detroit policemen and a black private guard were tried for this triple murder. The defense conceded, a UPI dispatch said, that the four men had shot two of the blacks. A jury exonerated them.

2 In Jackson, Mississippi, in the spring of 1970, on the campus of Jackson State College, a Negro college, police laid down a 28-second barrage of gunfire, using shotguns, rifles, and a submachine gun. Four hundred bullets or pieces of buckshot struck the girls' dormitory and two black students were killed. A local grand jury found the attack "justified" and U.S. District Court Judge Harold Cox (a Kennedy appointee) declared that students who engage in civil disorders "must expect to be injured or killed."

3 In Boston in April 1970, a policeman shot and killed an unarmed black man, a patient in a ward in the Boston City Hospital, firing five shots after the black man snapped a towel at him. The chief judge of the municipal court of Boston exonerated the policeman.

4 In Augusta, Georgia, in May 1970, six Negroes were shot to death during looting and disorder in the city. The *New York Times* reported:

> A confidential police report indicates that at least five of the victims were killed by the police. . . .
>
> An eyewitness to one of the deaths said he had watched a Negro policeman and his white partner fire nine shots into the back of a man suspected of looting. They did not fire warning shots or ask him to stop running, said Charles A. Reid, a 38-year-old businessman. . . .

5 In April 1970, a federal jury in Boston found a policeman had used "excessive force" against two black soldiers from Fort Devens, and one of them required twelve stitches in his scalp; the judge awarded the servicemen $3 in damages.

These were "normal" cases, endlessly repeated in the history of the country, coming randomly but persistently out of a racism deep

in the institutions, the mind of the country. But there was something else—a planned pattern of violence against militant black organizers, carried on by the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. On December 4, 1969, a little before five in the morning, a squad of Chicago police, armed with a submachine gun and shotguns, raided an apartment where Black Panthers lived. They fired at least eighty-two and perhaps two hundred rounds into the apartment, killing twenty-one-year-old Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as he lay in his bed, and another Black Panther, Mark Clark. Years later, it was discovered in a court proceeding that the FBI had an informer among the Panthers, and that they had given the police a floor plan of the apartment, including a sketch of where Fred Hampton slept.

Was the government turning to murder and terror because the concessions—the legislation, the speeches, the intonation of the civil rights hymn "We Shall Overcome" by President Lyndon Johnson—were not working? It was discovered later that the government in all the years of the civil rights movement, while making concessions through Congress, was acting through the FBI to harass and break up black militant groups. Between 1956 and 1971 the FBI concluded a massive Counterintelligence Program (known as COINTELPRO) that took 295 actions against black groups. Black militancy seemed stubbornly resistant to destruction. A secret FBI report to President Nixon in 1970 said "a recent poll indicates that approximately 25% of the black population has a great respect for the Black Panther Party, including 43% of blacks under 21 years of age." Was there fear that blacks would turn their attention from the controllable field of voting to the more dangerous arena of wealth and poverty—of class conflict? In 1966, seventy poor black people in Greenville, Mississippi, occupied an unused air force barracks, until they were evicted by the military. A local woman, Mrs. Unita Blackwell, said:

> I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years had been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality. We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us.

Out of the 1967 riots in Detroit came an organization devoted to organizing black workers for revolutionary change. This was the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which lasted until 1971 and influenced thousands of black workers in Detroit during its period of activity.

The new emphasis was more dangerous than civil rights, because it created the possibility of blacks and whites uniting on the issue of class exploitation. Back in November 1963, A. Philip Randolph had spoken to an AFL-CIO convention about the civil rights movement, and foreseen its direction: "The Negro's protest today is but the first rumbling of the 'under-class.' As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races take to the streets."

Attempts began to do with blacks what had been done historically with whites—to lure a small number into the system with economic enticements. There was talk of "black capitalism." Leaders of the NAACP and CORE were invited to the White House. James Farmer of CORE, a former Freedom Rider and militant, was given a job in President Nixon's administration. Floyd McKissick of CORE received a $14 million government loan to build a housing development in North Carolina. Lyndon Johnson had given jobs to some blacks through the Office of Economic Opportunity; Nixon set up an Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller family (controllers of Chase) took a special interest in developing "black capitalism." The Rockefellers had always been financial patrons of the Urban League, and a strong influence in black education through their support of Negro colleges in the South. David Rockefeller tried to persuade his fellow capitalists that while helping black businessmen with money might not be fruitful in the short run, it was necessary "to shape an environment in which the business can continue earning a profit four or five or ten years from now." With all of this, black business remained infinitesimally small. The largest black corporation (Motown Industries) had sales in 1974 of $45 million, while Exxon Corporation had sales of $42 billion. The total receipts of black-owned firms accounted for 0.3 percent of all business income.

There was a small amount of change and a lot of publicity. There were more black faces in the newspapers and on television, creating an impression of change—and siphoning off into the mainstream a small but significant number of black leaders.

Some new black voices spoke against this. Robert Allen *(Black Awakening in Capitalist America)* wrote:

> If the community as a whole is to benefit, then the community as a whole must be organized to manage collectively its internal economy and its business relations with white America. Black business firms must be treated and operated as social property, belonging to the general black community, not as the private property of individual or limited groups of individuals. This necessitates the dismantling of capitalist property relations in the black community and their replacement with a planned communal economy.

A black woman, Patricia Robinson, in a pamphlet distributed in Boston in 1970 *(Poor Black Woman)*, tied male supremacy to capitalism and said the black woman "allies herself with the have-nots in the wider world and their revolutionary struggles." She said the poor black woman did not in the past "question the social and economic system" but now she must, and in fact, "she has begun to question aggressive male domination and the class society which enforces it, capitalism."

Another black woman, Margaret Wright, said she was not fighting for equality with men if it meant equality in the world of killing, the world of competition. "I don't want to compete on no damned exploitative level. I don't want to exploit nobody. . . . I want the right to be black and me. . . ."

The system was working hard, by the late sixties and early seventies, to contain the frightening explosiveness of the black upsurge. Blacks were voting in large numbers in the South, and in the 1968 Democratic Convention three blacks were admitted into the Mississippi delegation. By 1977, more than two thousand blacks held office in eleven southern states (in 1965 the number was seventy-two). There were two Congressmen, eleven state senators, ninety-five state representatives, 267 county commissioners, seventy-six mayors, 824 city council members, eighteen sheriffs or chiefs of police, 508 school board members. It was a dramatic advance. But blacks, with 20 percent of the South's population, still held less than 3 percent of the elective offices. A *New York Times* reporter, analyzing the new situation in 1977, pointed out that even where blacks held important city offices: "Whites almost always retain economic power." After Maynard Jackson, a black, became mayor of Atlanta, "the white business establishment continued to exert its influence."

Those blacks in the South who could afford to go to downtown restaurants and hotels were no longer barred because of their race. More blacks could go to colleges and universities, to law schools and medical schools. Northern cities were busing children back and forth in an attempt to create racially mixed schools, despite the racial segregation in housing. None of this, however, was halting what Frances Piven and Richard Cloward *(Poor People's Movements)* called "the destruction

of the black lower class"—the unemployment, the deterioration of the ghetto, the rising crime, drug addiction, violence.

In the summer of 1977, the Department of Labor reported that the rate of unemployment among black youths was 34.8 percent. A small new black middle class of blacks had been created, and it raised the overall statistics for black income—but there was a great disparity between the newly risen middle-class black and the poor left behind. Despite the new opportunities for a small number of blacks, the median black family income of 1977 was only about 60 percent that of whites; blacks were twice as likely to die of diabetes; seven times as likely to be victims of homicidal violence rising out of the poverty and despair of the ghetto.

A *New York Times* report in early 1978 said: ". . . the places that experienced urban riots in the 1960's have, with a few exceptions, changed little, and the conditions of poverty have spread in most cities."

Statistics did not tell the whole story. Racism, always a national fact, not just a southern one, emerged in northern cities, as the federal government made concessions to poor blacks in a way that pitted them against poor whites for resources made scarce by the system. Blacks, freed from slavery to take their place under capitalism, had long been forced into conflict with whites for scarce jobs. Now, with desegregation in housing, blacks tried to move into neighborhoods where whites, themselves poor, crowded, troubled, could find in them a target for their anger. In the Boston *Globe*, November 1977:

> A Hispanic family of six fled their apartment in the Savin Hill section of Dorchester yesterday after a week of repeated stonings and window-smashings by a group of white youths, in what appears to have been racially motivated attacks, police said

In Boston, the busing of black children to white schools, and whites to black schools, set off a wave of white neighborhood violence. The use of busing to integrate schools—sponsored by the government and the courts in response to the black movement—was an ingenious concession to protest. It had the effect of pushing poor whites and poor blacks into competition for the miserable inadequate schools which the system provided for all the poor.

Was the black population—hemmed into the ghetto, divided by the growth of a middle class, decimated by poverty, attacked by the government, driven into conflict with whites—under control? Surely, in the mid-seventies, there was no great black movement under way.

Yet, a new black consciousness had been born and was still alive. Also, whites and blacks were crossing racial lines in the South to unite as a class against employers. In 1971, two thousand woodworkers in Mississippi, black and white, joined together to protest a new method of measuring wood that led to lower wages. In the textile mills of J. P. Stevens, where 44,000 workers were employed in eighty-five plants, mostly in the South, blacks and whites were working together in union activity. In Tifton, Georgia, and Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1977, blacks and whites served together on the union committees of their plants.

Would a new black movement go beyond the limits of the civil rights actions of the sixties, beyond the spontaneous urban riots of the seventies, beyond separatism to a coalition of white and black in a historic new alliance? There was no way of knowing this in 1978. In 1978, 6 million black people were unemployed. As Langston Hughes said, what happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up, or does it explode? If it did explode, as it had in the past, it would come with a certain inevitability—out of the conditions of black life in America—and yet, because no one knew when, it would come as a surprise.

ATTACHMENT 7

LEADERS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

REPORT FORMAT

1. Identify the civil rights leader whose life you are studying:

   Name:

   Date and place of birth:

   Occupation:

2. Summarize the individual's life prior to involvement in the Civil Rights Movement:

3. Explain the individual's contributions to the Civil Rights Movement:

Form from ED 266 218, P. 46.

ATTACHMENT 8

The Struggle for Equal Rights

YEAR	EVENT	EFFECT
1947	Report of Truman's Committee on Civil Rights	Showed that blacks remained second-class citizens in America.
1948	Truman issues executive order integrating the armed forces	Opened the way for equal opportunities in the armed forces.
1954	*Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision	Supreme Court ruled that local school boards should move "with all deliberate speed" to desegregate facilities.
1955	Montgomery bus boycott	Black solidarity tested local petty segregation laws and customs.
1957	Little Rock school integration crisis	White resistance to integration of Little Rock's Central High School resulted in Eisenhower's calling in federal troops
	Civil Rights Act	Created Civil Rights Commission and empowered Justice Department to go to court to guarantee blacks the right to vote.
1960	Civil Rights Act	Plugged loopholes in Civil Rights Act of 1957.
	Sit-in demonstrations begin	Gained support for desegregation of public facilities
1961	Freedom rides begin	Dramatized struggle to desegregate transportation facilities.
1962	James Meredith attempts to attend University of Mississippi	Required federal intervention to uphold blacks' rights to attend public institutions.
1963	Effort to desegregate Birmingham, Alabama	Brutal response of police televised, sensitizing entire nation to plight of blacks.
	March on Washington	Gathered support and inspiration for the civil rights movement, scene of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech
1964	Civil Rights Act	Outlawed racial discrimination in public accommodations
1965	Voting Rights Act	Allowed federal examiners to register black voters where necessary.
1971	Busing decision	Supreme Court ruled that court-ordered desegration was constitutional, even if it employed busing.
1978	*Bakke* decision	Supreme Court declared that affirmative action was constitutional but that firm racial quotas were not.

From Nash 921.

ATTACHMENT 9

THE LEADERS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT INFORMATION

1. For each of the individuals listed below, describe briefly:

   A. Some details of their life before the Civil Rights Movement.

   B. Some individual contributions to the Civil Rights Movement.

   * Martin Luther King

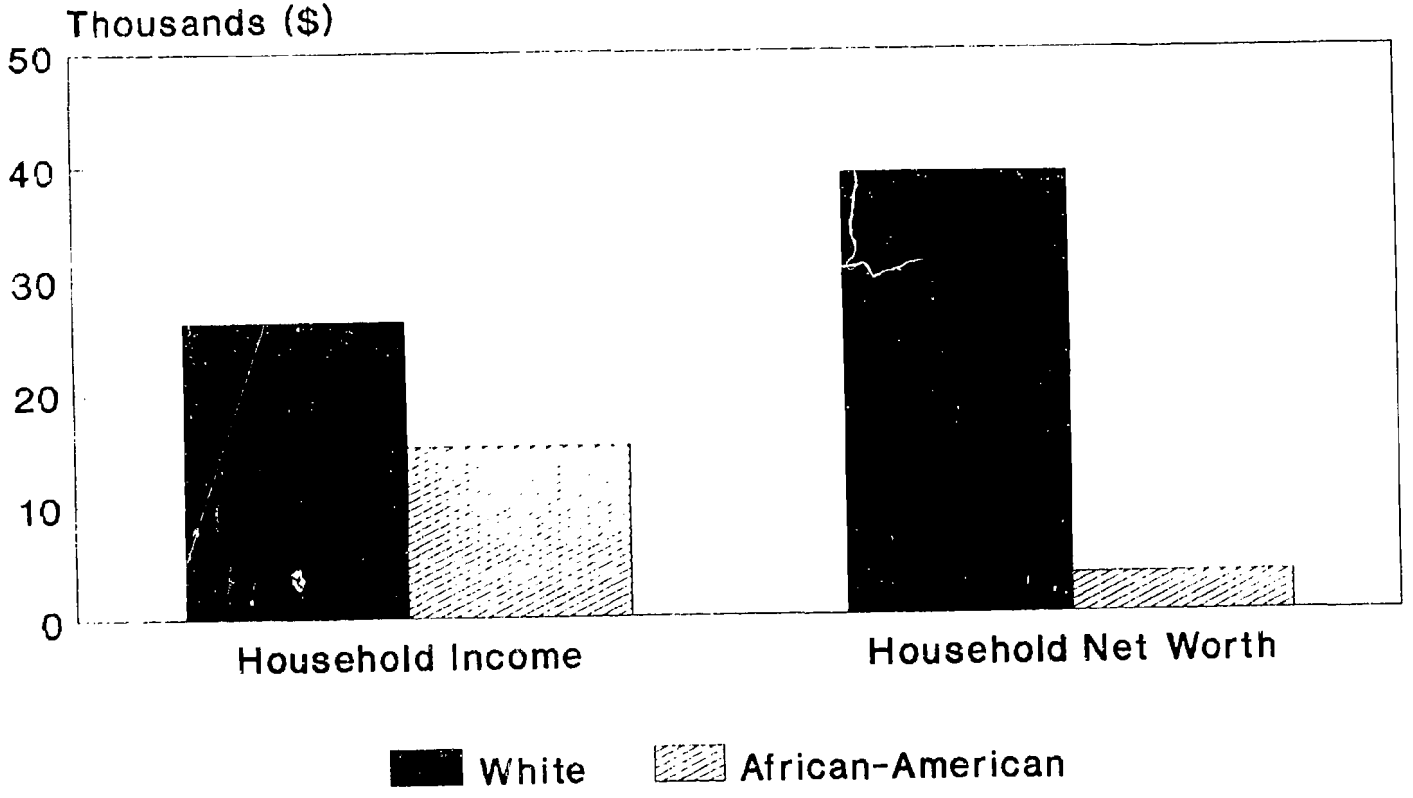
   * Malcolm X

   * Rosa Parks

   * Philip Randolph

   * Andrew Young

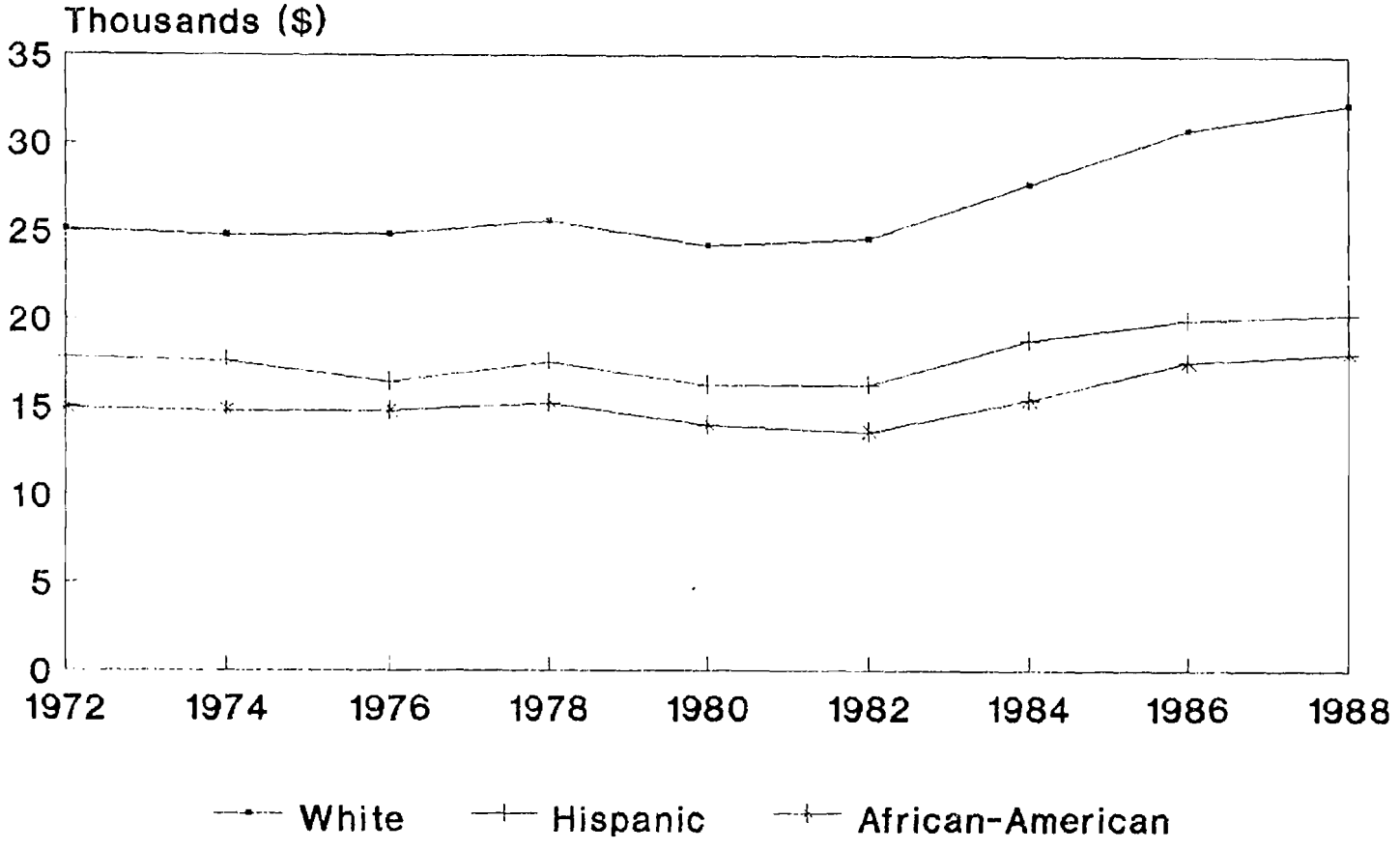
OVERHEAD 1
INEQUALITIES IN INCOME
1988



Patterson, Page 145

ATTACHMENT 10

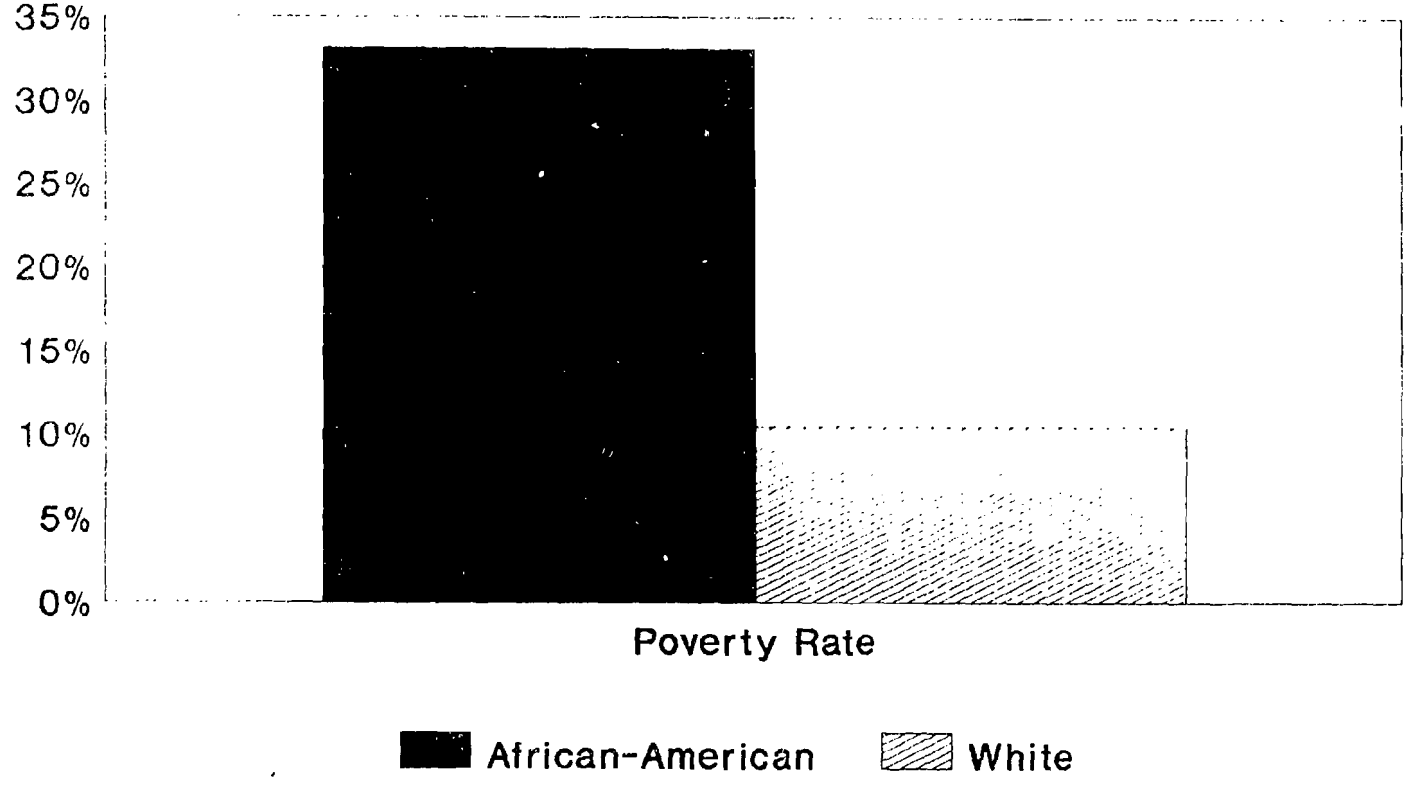
OVERHEAD 1A
INEQUALITIES IN INCOME



Eitzen, Page 287.

ATTACHMENT 11

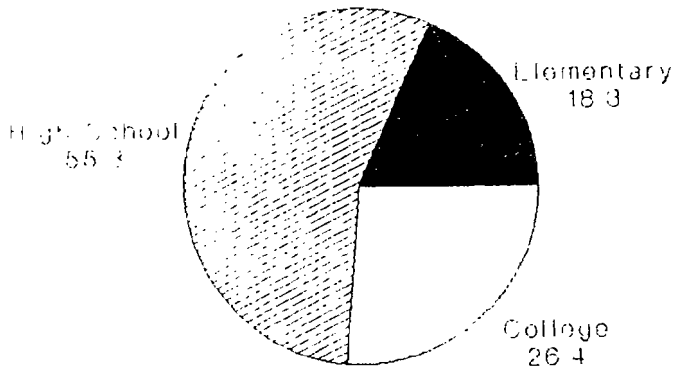
OVERHEAD 2
POVERTY
1987



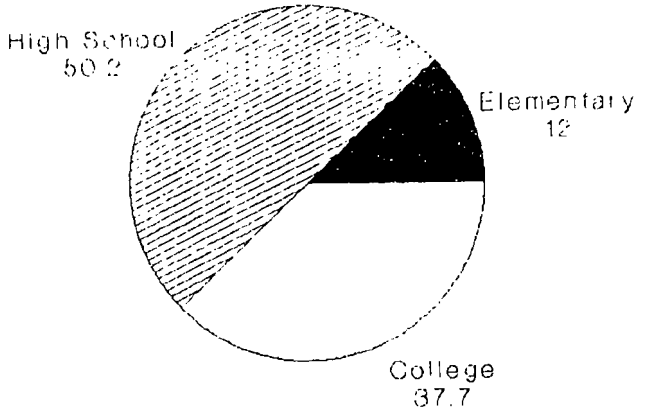
Eitzen, Page 287.

ATTACHMENT 12

OVERHEAD 3
EDUCATION
Highest Education Achieved - 1987



African-American



White

ATTACHMENT 13

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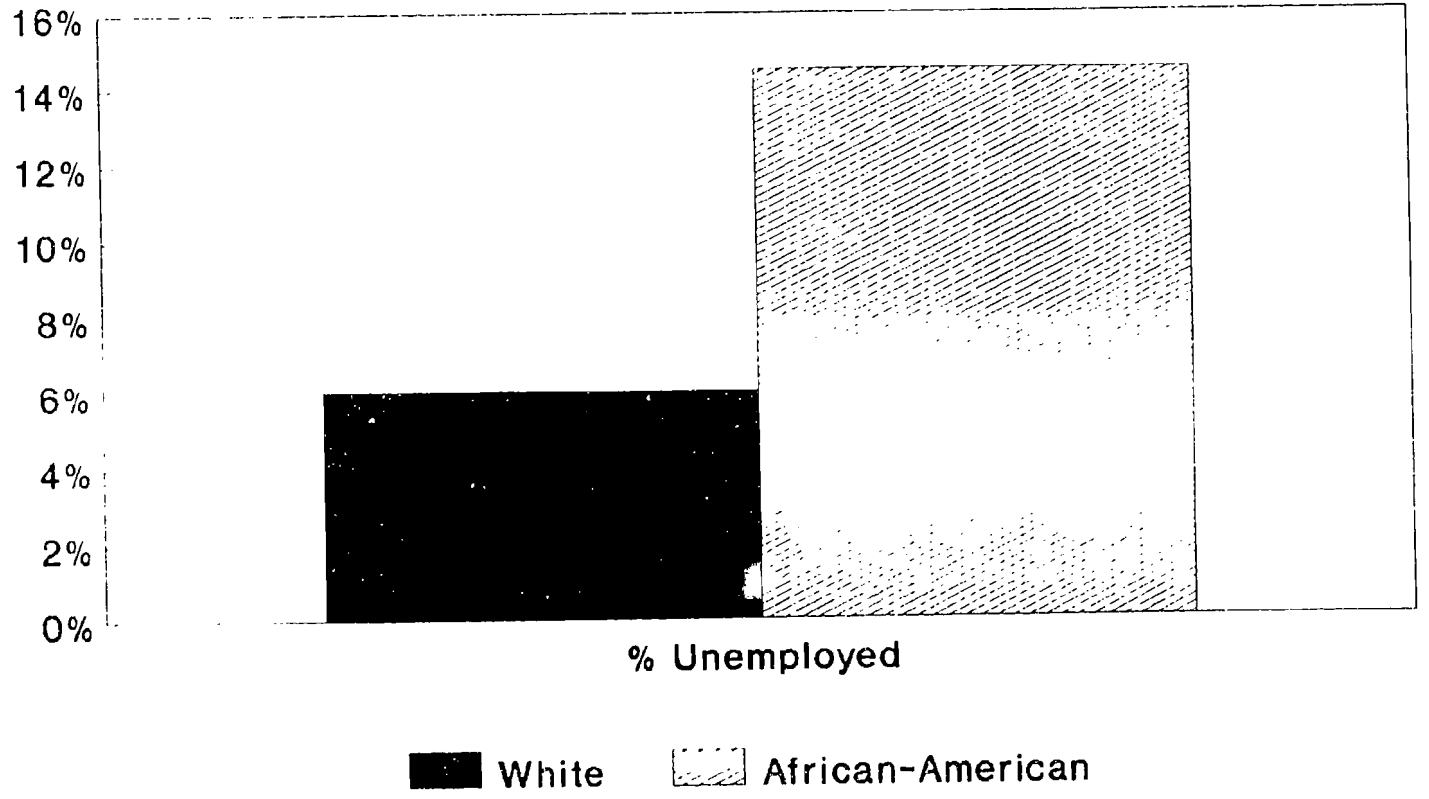


ATTACHMENT 14

To discuss issues of race we must look at ourselves

Like most newspapers, the Star Tribune tries to approach public affairs issues from a neutral, journalistic distance. From time to time, we've presented articles about everything from arson to child abuse to drugs as issues in our community, but not as *our* issues.

Race, however, is an issue that cannot be kept at a comfortable distance from the newspaper. It was, and is, our issue. It was present in every part of this project, not just as a subject but as an initiating force, a part of the process, a challenge to change.

The 12-day series of articles that begins today was born in conflict, engendered by an article published in the Star Tribune more than two years ago. That piece, about an unwed black teenage mother, aroused the anger of many black readers. Her story, said the critics, reinforced negative stereotypes.

After a complaint was lodged, the Minnesota News Council heard testimony from the newspaper and from members of the black community who were angered by the story. The white members of the News Council, who make up its majority, found that the story was not racist, that it was admirable journalism. Two members of the council, a black man and an American Indian man, disagreed.

Within the Star Tribune, the article and the News Council hearing prompted an internal discussion that continues today. In this very white community (the Twin Cities is the whitest major metropolitan area in the nation), the very white newsroom of the Star Tribune (8 percent of the newsroom staff are members of minorities) tried to tackle issues of race. Tried to understand.

As you can see, we looked around at a community that was coping — not always well — with diversity and change. Articles will address issues of race in education, in employment, in housing, in media coverage and in the fullness of community life.

But we also looked at ourselves.

Often, as we worked on this project, we said that even if we never published a thing, we would have begun changing the culture and the focus of the Star Tribune. We learned (or were reminded) of the impact of the limited diversity in our newsroom (although we have Indian and Hispanic reporters, there are fewer than a handful and none worked on the project). We learned how to listen better to each other, how to accept the fact that a different point of view is not necessarily a "wrong" point of view. We learned how much we have yet to learn about each other — all of us.

We know that what we have in this series will not please everyone. It doesn't please everyone who worked on it. There are issues missing that some readers care about. There are issues included that may seem like "old news." There are articles and presentations that may seem overly simplistic to some — and enlightening to others. We have not written the book on race.

What we have done is take the most important parts of our lives — education, our children, institutions of power, neighborhoods, housing, jobs, social activities — and shown how race can be a factor in what happens to all of us.

Joel Kramer

Executive Editor

Race not an issue to many

But minorities view situation differently

By Bob von Sternberg
Staff Writer

On the surface, it might seem as if race isn't a particularly important issue to Minnesotans.

Consider some findings from the Minnesota Poll: Between 60 and 70 percent of Minnesotans appear to be largely unconcerned about issues of race. Civil rights take a back seat to most public policy issues. Most Minnesotans don't believe much remains to be done on addressing past inequalities.

"We treat nationalities like everyone else," said Norma Cheval, who lives near Foley in rural Benton County. "We have one or two Negro families — very few, a few Vietnamese kids. Everyone gets treated the same."

But that kind of complacency and indifference, which dominates the majority of Minnesotans' attitudes about race, isn't shared by people of color living in the Twin Cities.

"We're treated like we're know-nothings, not even second-class citizens," said Larry Epkins, a transplanted black Chicagoan who lives in Minneapolis and works as a punch press operator for a tool company. "Minnesota is still awfully white, but they should get used to us. We're here to stay."

Not only do large majorities of the cities' minorities say that more needs to be done in providing employment and housing opportunities, but three in four say they have personally been subjected to discrimination in the past.

It's obvious from the poll results that on general issues involving race, most Minnesotans share mild, tolerant opinions. However, opinions diverge when people have a personal stake in issues, leaving white Minnesotans deeply at odds with minority Minnesotans. Thus, there is little support for programs such as busing and affirmative action.

The Minnesota Poll interviewed a random sample of 800 adults statewide between March 16 and April 22; another 820 minority and white adults were interviewed in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Until recently, questions about race relations and civil rights would have had little personal effect on the lives of most white Minnesotans because the state was so overwhelmingly white. But that has changed dramatically, especially in the Twin Cities.

Asked whether minority Minnesotans have achieved "roughly equal status with whites," 40 percent of all Minnesotans agree, a surprisingly large proportion, considering ample evidence that it just isn't true. But two-thirds of the minorities living in Minneapolis and St. Paul say equal status hasn't been attained.

The poll shows that the minority groups have a clearer view than whites of the economic reality for people of color in Minnesota. While the number of affluent and comfortably middle-class minority members has grown, in no case do the numbers add up to more than several thousand — and that growth has been obliterated by much larger growth in the number of minority people who are working poor or stuck in poverty.

And the poll indicates just how big an economic gulf separates minority Minnesotans from white Minnesotans. Forty-seven percent of people of color said their household income last year was below $20,000; only 22 percent of all Minnesotans said their income was that low. At the other extreme, 7 percent of members of minority groups said their income exceeded $50,000, compared with 17 percent of the population at large.

But when it comes to providing the assistance that could eliminate that economic inequality, most Minnesotans simply aren't interested.

Only about one-third of all Minnesotans say more should be done to provide employment or housing opportunities for those of color. But two-thirds of Minnesota's minorities say more needs to be done to provide such housing opportunities, and three-fourths think private business should do more to provide minority job opportunities.

Racial discrimination may be against the law, but the poll found that instances of everyday discrimination are by no means isolated. Three out of four minority Minnesotans say they've personally encountered discrimination in one of four ways.

When it comes to trying to get a job, 51 percent said they believe they "have been put at a disadvantage" because of their race; 44 percent said they think their race has caused store clerks to treat them differently; 41 percent said their race created problems in finding a place to live, and 35 percent said they believed their race was a roadblock to making friendships.

"Discrimination is a hard thing to prove, very hard," Epkins said. "In certain neighborhoods when you try to rent an apartment, they tell you they won't after they hear your voice. You can tell what a black person sounds like. Then the rent sign is still up three days later."

About one-third of Minnesota's minorities said they had been subjected to three or four of those discriminatory acts.

Such routine insults occurred more often against men than against women. The more education people of color have, the more often they're likely to say they've been discriminated against. And younger people of color are more likely to report instances of discrimination than those who are 55 and older.

In what appears to be a backlash against affirmative action, 23 percent of all Minnesotans — who are mostly white — say *they* have been personally put at a disadvantage because of their race.

One poll question that focused on blacks, the state's largest minority, underscored Minnesotans' indifference about issues of race. Those who were polled were asked whether "white people in Minnesota want to see blacks get a better break, or do they want to keep blacks down, or don't you think they care either way?"

Six in 10 respondents say Minnesotans either don't care about the fate of African-Americans or want to oppress them. Only one third said Minnesotans want to see blacks do better. On the other side of the racial divide, among minorities (just over half of whom were blacks), 70 percent said Minnesotans are hostile or indifferent toward blacks' prospects.

Eliminating discrimination and improving economic opportunity for minority Minnesotans usually is the job of government, but the poll found that civil rights issues are a low priority among Minnesotans.

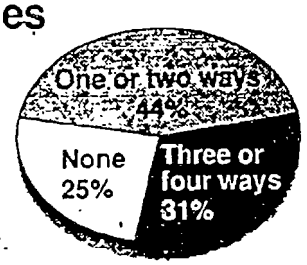
Seven in 10 Minnesotans say "many other public policy issues in the state are more important than are civil rights issues." That sentiment even prevails among minority groups, though less strongly: 57 percent say other issues outrank civil rights in Minnesota.

Even though minorities in Minnesota say they have routinely encountered discrimination and see a need for more opportunities, overall they hold a relatively benign view of fairness toward people of color in the state. Slightly more than half said they believe minority group members are treated fairly in the state.

"It's all right," said Carl Spratley, who is black, lives in Minneapolis and is a stock supervisor at Target. "Some people have their own hangups. I don't always get a lot of respect from whites, but you can be quite at ease living here."

Discrimination touches 3 of every 4 minorities

Three-quarters of Minneapolis and St. Paul minorities say their race has affected the way society treats them in at least one of four areas measured by the Minnesota Poll—put at a disadvantage while looking for a job or for housing, treated differently while shopping or being shunned socially.



Among Minneapolis/St. Paul minorities, opinions vary most by age.

	Do you feel that your race has put you at a disadvantage when . . . seeking a job?	finding a place to live?	When you are shopping, do you think that many store clerks treat you differently because of your race?	Do you feel that other people have avoided making friends with you because of your race?
All minorities	51%	42%	44%	35%
Among:				
Men	52%	40%	42%	43%
Women	49	43	45	27
Age				
18-34	49%	42%	49%	36%
35-54	58	44	42	34
55 and older	42	31	21	28
Education				
Less than high school	46%	32%	35%	34%
High school grads	44%	46%	48%	33%
Some college	56%	42%	43%	37%
College grads	56%	43%	48%	32%
Household income				
Less than $20,000	52%	42%	48%	34%
$20,000-$29,999	50%	46%	48%	36%
$30,000-$39,999	48%	30%	46%	36%
$40,000 or more	54%	33%	30%	32%

Source: Minnesota Poll of 494 minority adults in Minneapolis and St. Paul, March 16-April 22. Margin of sampling error, 4 4 percentage points, plus or minus.

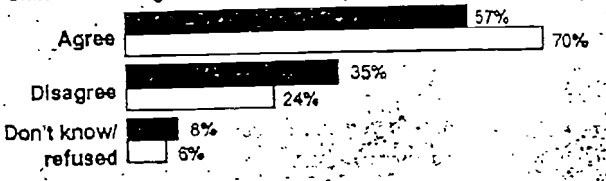
Discrimination is personal

On questions that measure general attitudes and opinions, minorities in Minneapolis and St. Paul have opinions that track with those of all Minnesota adults. But when personal, specific questions about race are asked, opinions of the two groups differ considerably.

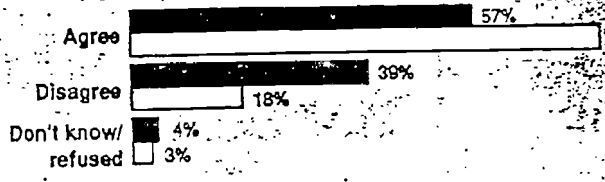
■ Minorities in Minneapolis/St. Paul □ All Minnesotans

General attitudes

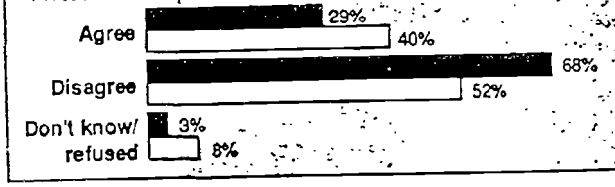
Right now in Minnesota, many other issues are more important than are civil rights issues.



Generally speaking, Minnesotans are fair to members of minority groups.

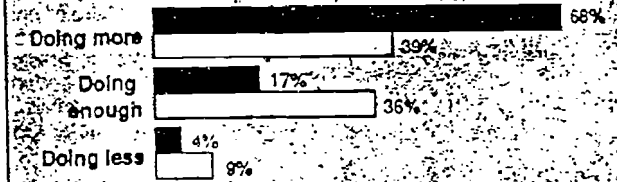


Minority groups have already achieved roughly equal status with whites in most places in Minnesota.

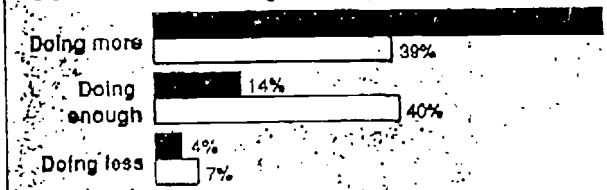


Specific issues

Do you think Minnesota is doing enough to provide housing opportunities for minorities, should it be doing more, or should it be doing less than it is now?



Do you think private businesses in Minnesota are doing enough now to provide employment opportunities for minorities, should these business be doing more, or should they be doing less?



Source: Minnesota Poll of 494 minority adults in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 800 adults statewide March 16-April 22. Margin of sampling error: 4 4 percentage points, plus or minus, for percentages based on the minority sample, 3.5 percentage points, plus or minus, for statewide percentages

ATTACHMENT 17

FROM: Star Tribune

On race, local media deserves euthanasia

Syl Jones is a local management consultant, freelance writer and playwright who was asked by the Star Tribune to report and write on how the media covers issues of race. This essay reflects his personal thoughts on the subject.

By Syl Jones

For decades, people of color have complained that the major Minnesota news organizations take a narrow, biased, and often racist view of their lives. They have begged, cajoled and demanded coverage that fairly represents their interests. They have decried stereotypical depictions — as criminals and otherwise troubled individuals. Or as athletes and entertainers. They have even noted that distortions about people of color ultimately hurt all of society, not just minorities. Yet, these practices have continued unabated for generations.

Maybe the ancient Greeks had the right idea. Maybe the time has come to kill the messenger — metaphorically.

The metaphor is apt because the local news media has shot itself in the foot on racial issues so often that to finish the job might be little more than a humanitarian gesture.

The local media has recently damaged the image of people of color through unfair and inaccurate coverage, but stereotypical depictions of minorities by the national media have long been a source of white entertainment and minority disgust.

Words such as "nigger," "coon," "jigaboo," "redskin," "savage," "spic," "chink," "yellow peril" and other pejoratives have been used in print since the 1700s. Although they rarely appear today, the mindset that promoted their development and use is discernible in today's coverage of the minority community, prompting strong negative feelings in people of color.

For example, Francis Fairbanks, head of the Minneapolis American Indian Center, complained, "The media finds the drunkest Indian they can and takes a picture of him. That's the Indian of today, in their minds. They never tell the story of our family values or our religion."

Raul De Anda, acting executive director of the Spanish Speaking Affairs Council, said, "You don't see us portrayed as having big Mexican hats and a serape anymore. Basically, you don't see us at all. But when you do see us, we are either poor migrant workers or drug-dealing Colombians."

Dr. Albert DeLeon, who runs the Council on Asian Pacific Minnesotans, contends with a double-barreled Asian stereotype. "On the one hand, the media projects this image of the smart, well-assimilated Asian who wins all of the spelling bees. And on the other, there's the non-English-speaking Southeast Asian. Neither of these stereotypes is particularly true."

Stephen Cooper, Minnesota State Human Rights Commissioner, has little trouble spotting such distortions. Cooper noted that the bias toward Eurocentric superiority is clearly exhibited in, for example, the local media's coverage of migration from the Iron Range. "The media repeatedly perpetuate the stereotype of people of color coming here without jobs. Yet, the same was true for whites from the Range, but the stories about them were somehow more sympathetic. A more mature media would not so often make that kind of mistake."

Compounding these acts of apparent carelessness are the consistently negative portrayals of blacks in local and national hard news stories. "There's definitely a double standard. Why are black kids who attack a white woman in Central Park labeled a wolf pack, when white kids who rape a retarded girl in suburban Philadelphia are characterized as kids who just took a wrong turn?" asked Leola Johnson, assistant professor of journalism of the School of Communications, Penn State University. "When the media does this, it plays toward a racist predisposition of its white audience to think of black men as brutes."

A local example of the same double standard is the media reaction to the trashing of Sibley High School by white kids, and the turmoil at City Center involving minority youngsters. The Sibley High students were rewarded with a lengthy television interview, in which they were presented sympathetically. The faceless, nameless kids in City Center have received all of the blame for a situation that they did not create. Thus far, no one has sought to interview them.

More subtle indicators of the media's malaise in racial matters include the ubiquity of certain code phrases in news stories, such as "near-North Side," "underclass," "qualified minorities," and even seemingly neutral descriptions like "black South African leader Nelson Mandela."

The term "near North Side" in local news stories is white code language for the black part of town that causes all of the problems and is ruining downtown Minneapolis. "Underclass" is white code for people of color suspected of being homeless, using drugs and stealing for a living. A "qualified minority" is someone corporate personnel departments say they can't find, but haven't really looked for. "Black South African leader Nelson Mandela" implies that Mandela is not a real leader but simply the leader of blacks. In a nation that is primarily black, why is there no racial designation before the name of the true minority leader, a white man? Once the reader or viewer breaks the code, the mystery of media racism is forever resolved.

Photographs of minorities in newspapers and in television news footage invariably give the impression that people of color are generally involved in either sports or crime. Rarely are minorities shown in normal settings conducting routine activities. Instead, stories about social problems in the state are frequently illustrated with large photos of minorities, despite the fact that nearly all social ills in Minnesota are dominated by whites, as confirmed by other stories in this series.

But the media implies:

- That people of color are the source of most problems, especially crime and drugs.
- That whites are the chief problem solvers in society and minorities can do little without them.
- That there are few minority achievers in this state outside of sports figures.
- That people of color generally do not lead normal lives, but are at best exotic and at worst socially deviant

That the myth of "Minnesota nice" means there is no white racism in this state and that minorities who claim there is are complainers or worse.

In other words, the media — society's messenger — routinely delivers a doubly-distorted message. It is distorted once by society itself, which continues to discriminate against people of color. But the initial distortion is compounded by a welter of problems that the media are only now beginning to acknowledge. As the nation moves toward greater cultural diversity, we need a messenger that will deliver the truth, no matter how complex. Instead, what we receive from the media today are messages that not only mislead the majority but do great harm to the minority.

"These kinds of distortions create what Dr. King called 'clouds of inferiority in our children's mental skies,' " said Yusef Mgeni, a former journalist who is president of the Urban Coalition. "Every day, I pick up the newspaper and see things that are insensitive, inaccurate or distorted depictions of people of color. Our children can't help but suffer from the seeds of self-hatred that are being planted by the media."

This in itself argues against the continued survival of the messenger. But in the court of public opinion, an admission of guilt often shifts the odds in favor of leniency. Lately, the media has begun to have second thoughts about its actions. Kent Gardner, the Star Tribune's Assistant Managing Editor/Metro, said the paper has taken a great deal of criticism over both specific stories and general coverage of the minority community.

"We have talked a great deal about it, and we have done a little better in trying to use examples of minorities in everyday stories. But in my opinion, we haven't brought these issues into our ongoing conversations about coverage," he said. Nor has the paper done particularly well in hiring minorities. "We have not covered ourselves in glory in regard to hiring, although a lot of effort has gone into it," said Gardner.

Janet Mason, news director and vice president, KARE-TV, said, "We go out of our way to include minorities whenever possible. But are we doing the best that we can do? No. There is always room for improvement."

Deborah Howell, the recently departed executive editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press, said, "Every week, I catch things that are racially insensitive before they get into the paper. Insensitivity is a part of life in Minnesota, where so many people haven't even gone to school with minorities. The important thing is to be aware of those insensitivities and catch them before they get out there."

Just when it appears the media may be begging for mercy, another code word appears. This time, the word is "insensitivity," which some whites in the media use as an excuse for racially biased behavior that is so ingrown it is no longer recognizable. The excuses for "insensitivity" have grown tedious to minorities over the years. "I was raised in Minnesota and didn't have much exposure to minorities"; "There are very few people of color in this area"; "We can't find minorities who want to work in journalism"; and even "We are trying to do the best that we can" simply are not good enough for people of color in 1990.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, the Kerner Commission warned that we were becoming a "racially divided and unequal nation" and that the news media played a pivotal role in perpetuating this state of affairs. Yet, the complaints about the media today remain largely the same as they were in 1968.

So why do these offensive and often inaccurate characterizations continue? The answer depends on whom you ask. Those responsible for them — white reporters, editors, photographers and news managers — say they don't intend to offend. Yet many also claim that they are not well educated in matters pertaining to race.

This is an alarming admission from those who control some of the most powerful institutions in the region, but it is undoubtedly true. As Yusef Mgeni noted, "When the media wants to cover a business story, it sends someone with experience in business. When it covers agriculture, it sends someone who has at least lived on a farm. But when the media covers an issue involving race, it will send any old ignorant reporter out to do the job."

Examples of local media ignorance abound, from KARE-TV to the Twin Cities Reader and the St. Paul Pioneer Press and points in between. But in the last two years, the Star Tribune has provided two of the more spectacular in recent memory.

By far, the most inflammatory example of the media's judgments about racially offensive materials was the "Meet Makela Scott" story. Minority organizations were so offended by the portrait of the vulnerable young black woman that they marshaled their forces and took the paper before the Minnesota News Council.

"We won the case, but when I looked around at the News Council and saw 13 white members saying the story was OK but a lot of blacks who didn't like it, I knew it was high time the newspaper came to grips with this issue," said Tim McGuire, managing editor. "In fact, that was the genesis of this series. It began in my heart."

Blacks and other minorities objected to the intimate photographs of Scott and to the exploitation of a black girl who became the symbol of yet another social problem. Peg Meier wrote the story with the intention of giving readers an inside view what of the life of a pregnant teenager. "I was naive in thinking that I could do this story about a black girl, and I wish now that I had chosen a white girl. The original story I wanted to tell got lost," she said.

Lost, it seems, in the overpowering graphic reality of eight pages of text and 26 photographs, two of which showed Scott's bare, protruding stomach. Minorities rarely receive so much attention from the local media unless the story is negative. Clearly, Meier did not conceive it as such. "We did not set out to find a black girl. We were looking for someone who was articulate, who would stay in school, stay with the project, and whose parents would approve of it. Makela was all of those things."

She was also a child, only 17 years old, and clearly did not know what it would mean to be the subject of a massive story in the newspaper. Most pregnant teens might have thought twice about such exposure, and even Scott tried hard to ditch the project. But, as Meier noted, in the end Scott simply enjoyed the attention she received from a newspaper reporter and a photographer asking questions about her life, pretending she was important.

Now, two years later, Scott has dropped out of school because of a day-care problem, and Meier still regrets that "a story that was one of the best I ever did got embroiled in this controversy. To some extent, I think it was probably the photos that really upset people." She admits that one picture, taken of Scott's stomach while in hard labor, was a mistake. "But you know, we decided not to use a photo showing the baby actually being born because we thought it was objectionable."

In other words, such a photo would have crossed an obvious line between what is acceptable and what is not — so obvious, in fact, that white editors had no trouble sensing that it would be offensive to cross it. But what the editors were apparently ignorant of was that the entire package — the fact that she was a poor black girl, the purposeful use of black English in Scott's quotes, the intimate photos, and the internal narrative implying parental irresponsibility on the part of Scott's mother — created a larger-than-life symbol of media exploitation, and that was bound to draw fire.

McGuire asserts that "Meet Makela Scott" was "color blind. We did not go out to portray blacks in a negative light. There's no question that a history of more balanced coverage of blacks would have made that story more acceptable." Still, the fierce protests from communities of color prompted an intense self-examination by the newspaper and led to the Race Project, which McGuire hopes, "will be the first day of the rest of our lives, set the baseline for looking at racial attitudes and make us a fair and honest presenter of information."

But this past February, long after "Meet Makela Scott," and the beginnings of the Race Project, the newspaper published yet another story that was offensive to people of color.

"Children of 'Crack'/Casualties of War," described several drug busts on the North Side of Minneapolis from the point of view of undercover police officers. Written by Paul McEnroe, the article evidently began as a photographer-generated story, which McEnroe said is rare. "Basically, the photographer wanted to do a story about the drug war that showed what actually happened in the first 30 seconds of a bust. He wanted to capture the fear of the thing.

McEnroe described his entry into the project in these terms: "The photographer came back initially with these photos and I'm standing there looking at them, trying to figure out what I think. And I'm thinking, 'This is a story about kids. It's about what is happening to black children.' "

After 15 inches of explanatory material was removed — material that McEnroe says would have made the story less objectionable to blacks — the article ran. People of color were offended for all of the obvious reasons. Here was yet another story focusing on minority drug trafficking, when the drug problem in Hennepin County is largely white. Although the abusive behavior of the police was well-documented, it was set against a backdrop of implied child neglect that prompted the reader to identify with the police instead of the suspects. The implication was that the black suspects were guilty by virtue of simply being present during the busts, and that the white police officers had come to rescue the children from their own parents. The photos stripped them of their humanity and captured the fear, shame and indignation of a lifestyle that white readers have been led to believe is typical of blacks living on the North Side of Minneapolis.

But the major problem with this story lies in the presumption that, "This is a story about what's happening to black children." "Children of 'Crack'/Casualties of War," is about a tragic situation affecting relatively few children who happen to be black. It is not a story about black children in general, but by McEnroe's own admission, it purports to be. The fatal flaw in the story's conception is the racist notion that negative experiences in the lives of some minorities can be elevated to the level of symbolism. Imagine the outcry if someone wrote a story about child abuse, teen pregnancy or teen suicide, for example, and implied that it described in general terms "what is happening to Ukrainian, Irish or Italian children."

This kind of racially skewed thinking occurs in local media organizations for several reasons. First, the media assumes, without much questioning, that the majority culture in Minnesota will tolerate the racist assumptions behind such thinking — i.e., that black people are more neglectful of their children than whites.

Second, the standard paradigm of news and news gathering prompts reporters and editors to think in terms of what is simultaneously dramatic and credible to the average white reader. McEnroe said the assignment was to, "document what was happening in the drug scene in Minneapolis, not Hennepin County." Why not Hennepin County? Because the drug problem in Hennepin County is a white problem, and photos of white suburbanites caught in the act of selling drugs would not fit the standard paradigm of acceptable news.

Many unsuspecting white Minnesotans have a file in their brains marked "drug abuse," created and reinforced by the media, that is filled with nightmare images of blacks, Hispanics, switchblades and Uzis. "Children of 'Crack'/Casualties of War," contained all of the necessary racial cues to slip quietly into the mental file with a minimum of cognitive dissonance.

Third, whether such thinking is characterized as racist, thoughtless or insensitive, the fact is, there are few minority people on staff at the Star Tribune, the Pioneer Press or the three commercial television news operations who have the power to kill or correct a story like "Children of 'Crack'/Casualties of War," and thereby save the media from itself.

But the media apparently has a death wish and does not want to be saved. Even after the tremendous uproar caused by "Children of 'Crack'/Casualties of War," this newspaper's managing editor defended the story. He pointed out that one particularly objectionable photo — showing a black suspect handcuffed and straddling a chair with a white towel over his head — was removed because of strong feelings by black staffers. "This story is an example of blacks on staff having a role in the selection process. That photo was not published because of their objections, but it won the top prize at a recent photography contest. When I look at it, I still don't understand why it is offensive, but when blacks see it, they have an immediate reaction to it."

This is the final bit of evidence needed to pronounce sentence on the media messenger. It is the height of hypocrisy for a newspaper to seek awards for a photo deemed too offensive to be published. Would the newspaper have submitted a photo showing a woman being raped if it had access to one? Would it submit photos of grave robbery or mutilation?

The photograph in question evokes painful images of black lynchings. For many people of color, Howard Beach and Bensonhurst are only a heartbeat away. How many minorities must be murdered by whites before news executives understand these sensitivities? That the faceless black man straddling the chair was a drug suspect is immaterial. Whites seem to forget that people of color are always suspects, no matter what the situation, and that a chief instigator of such abuse of blacks, Indians, Asians and Hispanics have been official bodies like the police and the armed forces.

Finally, there is the matter of how such concerns are handled by the media once they surface. The Star Tribune's Race Project is a response to internal and external pressures that have been building for years. The newspaper has established an inside committee called the Race Project core group, which has grappled with racial attitudes on a limited basis inside the paper and is responsible for this series of articles. Although its future mission is still unclear, these are positive steps for which the newspaper must be commended.

But the organization may have squandered a golden opportunity by mismanaging the project internally. The Race Project's own house has been rocked by disturbing questions, most notably the lack of high-level minority leadership and reports of conflicts over the focus of the group. Star Tribune management structured the project so that one person has responsibility for producing the product as well as facilitating a process that is gut-wrenching, at best. Such a structure requires enormous versatility and insight into the complex issues surrounding race relations. It is doubtful any one person could bring that expertise to bear.

It is a mistake to believe that good intentions alone can produce excellent results in any endeavor, but, in issues of race in the Twin Cities, good intentions may be viewed as just another attempt by a paternalistic white organization to assuage its conscience. Effective management of racial issues requires more than good intentions. It requires cultural awareness, humility and the sharing of power. It requires highly visible leadership by managers who are perceived to have not only authority, but compassion. In other words, it is a management issue that those at the very top of an organization must address directly in word and deed.

In the process, there will be turmoil caused by misunderstandings and cultural cross-currents. But the process should not be muddied by the fear of saying the wrong thing, concerns over job security, tyrannical leadership, perceptions of incompetence or insecurity born of mismanagement. These issues are not about race — they are about the corporate culture in which racial interaction occurs and they must be addressed from the top down before the process begins.

The upside of racial turmoil, when all is said and done, is that it may lead to across-the-board improvements for all people. Just as the civil rights movement brought increased freedom to everyone, so may the new emphasis on racial and ethnic diversity bring new opportunities for better training on the job, more emphasis on open communications and more participation in management decisions. In Minnesota, where corporations are an integral part of the social fabric, the media could become a partner in facilitating this transition to a new kind of society.

But first it must die.

For crimes against humanity the media is deserving of death. As a messenger, it has compounded society's bad news with its own ignorance and ignored the good news due to its own prejudice. The sooner we drag it out by the scruff of the neck and put it out of its misery, the sooner we can begin the task of constructing a new media.

Not a media filled with naivete or even good news, but one that has a variety of racial and ethnic representation at all levels; a media that celebrates diversity in every possible way and reflects the true complexity and vigor of Minnesota and the rest of the nation; a media that recognized the power of accurate knowledge to heal those who are emotionally sick or intellectually starving.

Whether we are successful in this endeavor depends to a great extent on our willingness to embrace destruction as a necessary first step in the creative process. If we are unwilling to do so, the unfortunate alternative may be a polarized society and, ultimately, self-destruction.

ATTACHMENT 18

TEST

DIRECTIONS: Answer the following questions in your own words. Then give examples of individual concepts with an example from the 1960s and one from the 1990s. You can use your notes, and answers should be brief but meaningful.

1. What is racism and how does it affect the African-American population?

2. Describe discrimination and the types of discrimination.

3. What is the difference between oppression and prejudice?

4. Did you learn anything from this unit? What? NOTE: NOT TO BE GRADED.

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